THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

PREFACE.

It is with great pleasure that the Committee are able to inform Subscribers to the Fund that they have received from Palestine three completely filled in tracings, the first contribution to the new map of the Holy Land. The work has been shown to Captain Stewart, who first commenced the survey, to Captain Wilson, and to others experienced in survey work. All are unanimous in expressing their entire approval. It is a piece of work which reflects the highest credit on the non-commissioned officers, Sergeant Black and Corporal Armstrong, to whom it is mainly due. It must be understood that the work of reducing observations taken in the field is a long and laborious one, and that the three sheets already received represent but a very small amount of the actual portion of country surveyed. The amount now plotted, as Lieutenant Conder informs us, is 560 square miles. He calls attention to the fact that the work has been done by two men only, that what they have done would have been impossible had it not been for the care, assistance, and experience of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, to whom our best thanks are due, and that more men are urgently needed.

Having once begun this work, which we are doing not for ourselves or our own generation only, but for all the world and future ages, it must be done thoroughly, and should be done expeditiously. The Committee are quite sure that they may depend upon the exertions of their friends to increase their funds and enable them to give Lieutenant Conder the additional men he asks for. It may be remembered that Captain Stewart was also urgent in his appeal for a larger staff.

The Hamath inscriptions have been attracting the attention

of scholars. The rough illustration accompanying this number shows a proposed reconstruction by the Rev. Dunbar Heath, from a comparison of Captain Burton's tracings and our own photographs, of the inscriptions on three stones. The plate is kindly presented to the Committee by Mr. Heath, and is here given as a possible help to students of these very curious inscriptions. Besides stones at Hamath, there are nine seals in the British Museum thus inscribed, and a half-defaced stone of Aleppo has been found by Mr. Drake inscribed in similar characters.

In the next *Quarterly Statement* the Committee hope to be able to bring before their Subscribers a definite plan with regard to their future work in Jerusalem itself.

The letters of Lieutenant Conder give some account of what is now known as "Shapira's collection." It is a collection of rough figures in pottery, with occasional fragments of inscriptions, masks, broken utensils, and other things. They are said to be brought from Moab. Unfortunately, it is impossible for experts to decide on their authenticity till they can be examined and handled. The sketches sent home by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and Lieutenant Conder are lying in the office of the Fund, where they can be seen. Undoubtedly, if they prove to be genuine, they will be very curious and valuable.

THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

LETTERS FROM LIEUT. CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

I.

10th July, 1872.

First impressions on arriving in a country so totally unlike any in Europe as is Palestine, must always be more or less interesting.

Two kinds of travellers have given such descriptions, and they are apparently very contradictory. The first kind are enraptured by the scene, and describe in flowing language blue hills, venerable cities, orange groves, and palms. The second, disgusted with everything they meet, talk only of deserted ruins, hovels, parched shapeless hills, dirt, and dust. The truth of the matter is that there is much to be said on both sides of the question. Palestine at present is emphatically a land of promise. The distant scene from a window in Jaffa—long garden, groves, palms, plains covered with vegetation, and distant misty mountains—quite comes up to such expectations as are raised in our infancy by the sketches of Roberts and Bartlett; descending, however, into the details when distance no longer lends enchantment, the promise cannot be said to be well fulfilled. The venerable town proves dusty, noisome, and hot to an insufferable degree, the plains flat and uninteresting, and the hills shapeless and burnt up. The truth is that for distant views Palestine is indeed beautiful, but for stern realities in the foreground it is barren and commonplace to an unusual extent.

Having safely landed through the high waves and the narrow inlet of the dangerous reef at Jaffa, the road lies through the plains to Ramleh by a road once well made but so neglected as to be worn to its very foundation of large stones. The Arab horses, with their rapid walk and easy canter, are now the only means of travelling; the omnibuses and carriages started some few years ago in the days of the American colony at Jaffa being now broken or sold, and the road impracticable.

In the evening we reach Ramleh, which is quite typical of most of the Syrian towns and villages. The first thing which specially strikes the eye in these buildings is their ruinous appearance when seen close. This is due to several causes—first, their colour, which is most peculiar; not white, as in Italy or Alexandria, but simply dust-coloured, as if dust, such as that on an English road, had been scattered over the whole and over every patch of soil in the roads, streets, and country, which is not covered with some sort of vegetation. The second cause is the crumbling and uneven dressing of the limestone of which the

walls are formed. The third, to an English eye, is the want of any relief from difference of colour in the roof or windows, which, with the white flat concrete roofs, is continually characteristic. The last, and perhaps most important cause, is, that as in the ancient times of megalithic structures, so in modern buildings, the inhabitants of Palestine seem to be quite unacquainted with or to have a profound contempt for the right angle; as in the grand Haram enclosure, so in every Syrian house, there is rarely any attempt at squareness. The roofs are at all levels, the walls often not strictly parallel, and little round domes crop up without any attempt at symmetry or proportion. Each house, unlike an Italian or Alexandrine building, has its flat roof surrounded by a parapet wall, which runs along at various levels and always appears to be ruined, in some parts two or three courses wanting. Such, with additions of a few minarets, scattered palms, and cactus straggling in and out of drystone enclosures, is the outside of a city in Palestine. In the distance it presents a compact square mass of building; in the interior, streets paved in parts with small stones and arched over for shade, going up and down by steps, with small shops and covered bazaars.

After leaving Ramleh by starlight, with an occasional view of gleaming eyes from some wild dog or hyena, the mountains are reached just as day begins to dawn. They are certainly disappointing. They are round and shapeless, of stratified limestone with brown bands of burnt herbage visible between; and only when some special effect of light or broad shadow is visible, can they be said to look at all picturesque. In some parts the limestone, usually dark grey, has a purpler tone, and the yellow grass contrasts with it; in others the olives, of a brighter green than those in Europe, with aged boles hollowed and ragged, give a little freshness to the view. When, however, these relieving features are absent, the scene is barren and desolate in the extreme; no human habitation or sign of agriculture is visible, a few partridges and small birds appear now and then, and birds of prey, owls, hawks, kites, and other wild inhabitants of the desert, are seen sailing in amongst the confused succession of round summits separated by deep dry valleys and the road runs up and down as mountain succeeds mountain in wearisome succession; and as you gallop to each eminence in hopes at least to see the distant city of Jerusalem, your view is barred by yet another brown hummock to be traversed with pain and discomfort.

Two coffee-shops are promised us on the way; each is found in a valley by a stagnant muddy well, each equally disappointing, as it consists merely of a semicircle of dry stone wall, some two feet high, with a low roof of boughs supported on a central pole, and half covered with dry brushwood. Here coffee is served by an aged and dirty Arab, and mules and horses crowd, tortured by flies and gnats, round the well.

At length we are told that from the next summit we shall at last see Jerusalem. What, when it proved such an acceptable announcement to us, who had only travelled nine hours, and had fed by the way,

must it have been to the crusaders who, in hunger and thirst, under a burning sun, had struggled through half Europe and all Asia Minor and Syria on foot to reach it? Little can those who most sneer at this "centre of the world" wonder at the tears and cries of the multitude when they at last beheld their goal.

Nothing was more contrary to expectation than the first view; not of a large city walled round, lying spread out below us, but of a few white modern houses, drystone walls, and a large building with several white domes, evidently also quite new; and all this, not in a valley, but on the very top of the last summit ascended. This was modern Jerusalem, the Russian town. We gallop on, and at last on the same long ridge, but sloping down towards a distant valley, we see a long dark grey wall with battlements, and two square towers; minarets and tall cypresses rising behind, and in front of the dark gateway yellow camels in the blazing sun, lying grunting and grumbling in the road. Such is the foreground, but it forms, not as one would be led to expect and believe, the whole scene, but merely the setting of the extreme distance of a long veil of grey mountains—the Moab country. It is not, indeed, till visiting the spot that the traveller appreciates the meaning of the Psalmist's words; for twenty miles he has struggled over mountains, and now he sees on every side to the extreme verge of the horizon still higher hills, and yet finds himself standing on one of these at the gate of Jerusalem.

Captain Burton, in the general remarks prefacing his new work on Syria, speaks with great contempt of the "torpid little town of Jebus;" yet to the traveller fresh to Syria, although well acquainted with the beauties of mountain scenery in Upper Italy, and the rich plains of the South, and not even suffering from "Holy Land on the brain," the first impression is decidedly a striking one.

Let like be compared with like, and not with that which is incommensurate. Compare Jerusalem with Paris or London, compare the Moab chain with Mont Blanc, the result will naturally be unfavourable to scenery which is on a smaller scale; but when, after seeing the shapeless and half-ruined villages near Jaffa, the well-built walls, the fine buildings, the battlements, archways, pillars, palms, and gardens of the capital strike the eye, the effect is certainly superior in beauty to moderate expectations. And again, when the brown hills passed through still meet the eye on the north, the distant range of Moab looks imposing by contrast; and again the truth of the assertion that the charm of Palestine consists in distant scenery is proved.

Another point which in England appeared of great difficulty now disappears entirely as such. It is evident that Palestine is not a land where architecture has ever reached any great amount of excellence in detail, or richness of style. Hence it is that the apparently homely outline of the ancient Temple, as blocked out from the Talmud description, and the plain character of the remains as yet found, are still not inconsistent with the enthusiastic accounts of Josephus.

Size was to the Jews, whose ordinary buildings were small and insignificant, the only element of grandeur, and in this, indeed, they excelled. The effect of even such small towers as these at the Jaffa Gate is striking; what then must have been that of the lofty piles of Hippicus, Psephinus, and Mariamne, and the great wall of the Haram, of which now but a third of the height is visible?

Beauty of detail and richness of style we should not naturally expect in Palestine, but grandeur in proportion and square massiveness we should look for and do find.

II.

11*th July*, 1872.

My second day in Jerusalem was spent in the shop of Mr. Shapira, in Christian Street, sketching the pottery alleged to have been recently discovered from Moab and which he has offered to the Palestine Exploration Fund for examination. These are most interesting to Bible and archæological students, and appear to be, in many instances, unique. They are of two kinds of pottery, one bright red and sharply defined in outline and inscription; the other, apparently older, is of greyer colour and less distinctly moulded.

The sketches I send are the only ones which time enabled me to prepare for this mail, but the number as yet uncommunicated by either Mr. Drake or Dr. Chaplin is very large, and these will be forwarded as soon as possible, my time being principally devoted to such drawing for the next few days.

First in interest to the general public is the "Moab Calf." Here, if genuine, we have a relic which may at once take us back to the Mosaic Dispensation, to that mysterious worship which—perhaps first connected with or in imitation of the Egyptian Apis—seems to have had peculiar attraction for the Jews. Hardly had they left Egypt when under Sinai itself they worshipped the golden calf, and later we find that Jeroboam caused Israel to sin by the erection and worship of calf idols in Bethel and Dan. It is a curious, but perhaps impertinent remark, that twelve oxen supported the brazen sea, and that the bull was one of the four beasts or portions of the Cherubim.

To find therefore in Moab, the country where first Israel, issuing from the desert, was led astray, one calf idol and the fragment of a second, would be most interesting, and the rumour that similar relics, but of gold, have been unfortunately already melted down in Damascus, still further excites the curiosity of the student.

The Moab calf is perfect, all but the feet on the right side. It is 22½in. long, 9in. broad, and 8⅞in. high, or rather less than the dimensions of a new-born ordinary calf. Its ears are chipped, and it has on its

sides scratches which might be conjectured to be the remains of an inscription, but may only be marks of the moulding tool. The head is well-shaped, and the dewlap well executed; the rest is clumsy and rough in the extreme; the hollow in the back may be either for incense or for the reception of offerings, and is of irregular shape. The colour of the pottery is light, and in parts grey; the nostrils are shallowly moulded, and not perforated as in the second or fragmentary head, which is also better moulded and of thinner pottery. No really marked inscription exists on either.

The remaining sketches carry back our thoughts at once to the eleventh chapter of 1st Kings, where it is told us how Solomon erected on Olivet temples to Chemosh, the abomination of Moab; and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon; and for Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians.*

III.

On the Exploration of Jerusalem—The Second Wall.

Nablous, 18*th July*, 1872.

Much as has been done in elucidating the topography of Jerusalem by my predecessors, I feel, after a long talk with Herr Konrad Schick, in charge of the excavations in the Muristan, that there will soon be opportunities for still more decisive discoveries on the subject.

These opportunities should not be lost, and I sincerely hope that, as in next November work will be possible here without affecting the health of the party, the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Society will feel justified in supplying men, materials, and money; whilst I would guarantee that the support and assistance necessary for success are to be readily obtained here.

First in interest to us all, comes the vexed question of the Second Wall, including that of the identity of the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre, with that new tomb in the garden which was nigh at hand to Calvary.

Calvary, as all agree, was without the then existing city wall, which by Josephus is always spoken of as the second wall. If, then, the wall ran east of the present church, the evidence is permissive, though not positive, but if it ran west, the evidence becomes definitely negative as to the authenticity of the site.

The description Josephus gives (*B. J.* v. 4) is bare enough. The wall

* These sketches, together with some by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, are lying in the office of the Fund. It is not yet by any means certain that the objects are genuine, but it is hoped that further investigations may confirm the good opinion of them formed both by Mr. Drake and Mr. Conder.

started from the gate Gennath, or, as it has been translated, the garden gate, belonging to the first wall; it encompassed the north quarter of the city, and reached to Antonia. We have, however, another indication of its extent in the same passage; for, supposing the distance of every tower on each of the three walls to be the same, and comparing thus the lengths of the walls, we find that the second wall was two-thirds the length of the first, and four-ninths that of the third, and coupling this with the thirty-three furlongs given as the circumference of the city, the length of the second wall is roughly one English mile.

Of local indications we have but one of any value, at the Damascus Gate, where two ancient towers are found. This, then, must surely be a gateway of the wall in question, for it is too far north to belong to the first wall, and, if the circumference of the city be kept in view, too far south to have been in the third.

From this starting-point, then, we might trace the wall to Antonia on one side, and to the Gennath Gate on the other. The first question, as being of less immediate interest, and also more difficult to solve in accordance with all the different points of evidence, I leave at present untouched. One of two courses, it must, as is generally agreed, have taken; and I shall therefore merely remark that the greater the extent on this side, the less is left to be accounted for; and thus the greater the probability of so tracing the wall as to exclude the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

We come, then, at once to the question of the junction of the first and second wall; and here it is important first to determine the line of the first wall itself.

On this, in the same chapter, Josephus is fortunately more definite in his description. The northern course was from the tower Hippicus, which, with Phasaelus and Mariamne, was placed on this side. Hippicus we also *infer* to have been at the north-west corner of the wall, as from it the course to the west cloister of the temple is described. From this salient point the third wall also started. Phasaelus and Mariamne must then have been east of it; and to them we are told that the King's palace adjoined. The wall hence ran on to the Xystus, the council-house, and the west temple cloister, excluding the lower city which was separated by a valley.

But little difference of opinion exists, therefore, about the course of this wall, which is supposed to lie in the line shown. With regard to its history I have never seen it remarked that it may probably be identical with the wall which Simon and Jonathan, the Asamoneans, first built in the midst of the city, to exclude the market-place from the garrison, which was in the citadel on Acra, which was afterwards levelled (*Ant.* xiii. v. 6).

Of local indications there are very few. On the west, at the Jaffa Gate, stands the citadel of the present town, including the castle of David, a tower the foundations of which are undoubtedly ancient, and agree with the dimensions given by Josephus for Phasaelus. On the east, at

Wilson's arch, it is possible the wall ran close to the vaulted ascent. Between these two points in the same line stands the property of the Society for Converting the Jews; and here, as shown on a larger plan, Captain Warren sought to find, beneath an archway, the Gennath Gate. A second ancient gate exists close by further west, but its date is uncertain, and part of it seems Christian. In the same vicinity an old tower-like cistern exists, and part of an ancient wall below the surface, all pointing to the existence of the wall, probably under the street.

Having thus a tentative east and west line, we require one north and south to fix the position of the Gennath Gate; but it is just here that the difficulty lies. Captain Warren on the east went forty feet deep without finding either the rock or the gate; and Captain Wilson was equally unsuccessful at Kalaat el Jalûd, on the west of the Holy Sepulchre, which Dr. Robinson had taken as a point in his second wall.

The scattered references to the wall in question in Josephus are numerous, but tend, it would seem, rather to trace the wall so as to include the Holy Sepulchre; though the evidence cannot be considered as conclusive.

First we learn (*B. J.* v. 6) that Titus thought to attack at the monument of the High Priest John, as the outer wall was lower, the second wall not joined on, not being completed, and there was an easy passage to the third or inner wall.

A sally from an obscure gate (or postern) at Hippicus was directed against this attack by the Jews, who under Simon fortified the spot near John's monument as far as the gate where the water (probably the aqueduct) came in to the tower Hippicus (*B. J.* v. 7).

Titus, however, took the second wall at the part where the narrow streets led obliquely to it, and prepared to assault the last wall. For this purpose he erected banks at John's monument, and the pool Amygdalon, thirty cubits apart, in the north quarter (a term equivalent, it would seem from another passage, to the lower city). (*B. J.* v. 9, and v. 11.)

The deductions to be made from these passages seem to be as follows:—

1st. The second wall was at its junction, near the tower Hippicus, which is supposed to have been near the Jaffa Gate.

2nd. The postern of the aqueduct at Hippicus may possibly be identified with the Gennath Gate.

3rd. The pool Amygdalon, only mentioned after taking the second wall, must have been within it, close to the monument of John—a conspicuous object, which M. Ganneau boldly identifies with the Holy Sepulchre itself! The pool may, therefore, very well be that of Hezekiah which lies nearly north of the castle of David.

With regard to the opposite view of the subject, I may state that, east of the Holy Sepulchre, there are ruins of what was undoubtedly a tower or building of some sort belonging to the megalithic period, the rock not being here far below the surface; these are, in all probability, *in situ*. Captain Wilson thoroughly explored this.

First it is evident that the aqueduct should be carefully traced in hopes of finding both Hippicus and the Gennath Gate. To this work Herr Schick promises soon to devote himself. Secondly, it is important to descend into the lower part of the castle of David, which has, I understand, never been explored, and for the investigation of which it is hoped the new governor will give facilities. Thirdly, an arch in the moat of the citadel must be opened, and the vaults within searched, and if necessary a short gallery driven towards the south to find, if possible, the first wall.

IV.

The Progress of the Survey.

Nablous, 18*th July*, 1872.

Arriving on the 17th at Nablous, my first attention was directed to the examination of what had been done in the survey during the time that Mr. Drake has been in charge. Having before this date been unconnected with the work, I may of course be looked upon as an impartial critic; and on that ground I wish to report at once my impressions on joining.

Palestine has been described as an easy country to survey, the distances being large from one point of extensive view to another, and the amount of detail small. I wish, therefore, to give a short sketch of the practical difficulties of the work.

Our method is to establish a camp from which to extend the survey within a radius of five to seven miles; when this is finished the camp is removed some ten miles further and the same process repeated.

The size of the triangles is therefore limited, not by the distance that can be seen, but, as each point has to be revisited for the sake of connecting it with new ones afterwards erected, by the distance that can be ridden in the day, leaving the requisite amount of time for the observations to be taken.

When it is considered that in some parts no roads exist, that where they do they are used by the natives principally as receptacles for all the stones in the gardens; that all the surface from Jerusalem to Nablous is either covered with small stones or consists of flat limestone slabs worn quite slippery by sun and the feet of the camels; that no shade can be found on the hill-tops; that water is scarce in most parts; and that delicate instruments have to be mounted on mules which are urged as fast as circumstances permit—it will be seen that to construct an accurate map is not by any means an easy task.

For this task but two men have been employed, under the care of Mr. Drake, without whose experience and constant assistance they would have been unable to accomplish what they have done. They have

worked now unceasingly for six months, and the results are successful and satisfactory beyond what could have possibly been expected: in fact, better work could not be desired.

The extent of the Survey at present plotted is 560 square miles. Part of the most difficult country is already passed, and a considerable portion that is easy will be even more rapidly completed.

As regards the triangulation, the checks have been in all cases satisfactory; and lines of thirty miles in length are calculated throughout, which prevent all possibility of slewing. The direction taken will bring us in the shortest possible time to the second base on the plain of Esdraelon, which will still further check the work.

The observations have also been very satisfactory, and agree well with those taken by Captain Warren. Finally, the detail has been all filled in, and the work will be forwarded as soon as possible to England, and can be published at once. The hill shading is not placed on the plan, and as it rather tends to obscure the detail of roads and villages it would be better to add it later. It will, however, be continued in conjunction with the other work.

Perhaps the most satisfactory feature in the work is, however, yet to be mentioned. The amount done in the last quarter has been half as much again in quantity as that done in the first three months, and that in spite of the increased heat of the weather. It is hoped, also, that as the men get more accustomed to the work, to the hard riding, to the habits, language, and appearance of the country; and, further, when the plains and less difficult country are being surveyed, that still greater progress will be made.

I cannot, however, consider this report as complete without urging most strongly that more men be employed. Captain Stewart, I am aware, spoke on this point at the last general meeting; and I do not hesitate to state that, as at present carried on, it cannot be completed in the time expected. Two more men would more than double the rate at which work can be carried on, and it would be desirable to increase the party still further in order to lighten and accelerate the work. It is at present in a precarious state, for the illness of one of the men must necessarily put a stop to it, and although their health has as yet been very good, the risk is very great to run.

I would, therefore, press the committee earnestly to consider the saving in time and expense which the addition of two or three more men would make. They need not be of the rank of Sergeant Black or Corporal Armstrong; as younger men of the corps would, under the guidance of these excellent and experienced workmen, be quite efficient, and could be easily selected at Chatham. They should be men accustomed to filling in of detail, but need not be able to take observations.

My conclusions are, therefore, that considering the party and the country, the work is far more satisfactory than could have been hoped, and indeed for accuracy and detail leaves nothing to be desired; but I

consider that the addition of three more men at least to be sent out to arrive in October at the latest, is of the greatest possible importance.

V.

The Country round Samaria.

Nablous, 23*rd July*.

The Survey has, during the last quarter, been extended through the hill country of Palestine, until at last from our further points on the the north we can see stretched in the distance the plain of Esdraelon, on which our second base is to be measured; with Nazareth, Tabor, and Hermon on the north, and the ridge of Carmel and the white sand cliffs of the Mediterranean stretching away on the north-west and west.

Our present camp is, and will probably for a week or more continue to be, at Nablous, the site of Shechem, the patrimony of Abraham, and the resting-place of Joseph; placed between Ebal and Gerizim, on the very watershed of the country, with hill country on every side, and deep wadys or valleys leading to the Jordan valley and the Mediterranean.

The country from Jerusalem and Hebron on the south, to Esdraelon on the north, presents such constantly recurring features, that a description of that in the Samaritan district will give a correct impression of the whole. Indeed, were it not for the distant views reaching beyond Jordan on the one hand, and to the sea on the other, including long ranges, broad plains, and distant blue ridges, the scenery would present a most monotonous and uninteresting recurrence of round-topped barren hills and deep stony valleys. Palestine is, as I have before remarked, the country of all others where distant effects can best be studied and appreciated.

The geological composition of the hills is a dark grey, sometimes almost purple, limestone, hard and compact, stratified in beds of an average thickness of two, three, to seven feet, and as a rule very nearly horizontal. These are referred by the French geologists to the early miocene or late cretaceous period, and called by them nummulitic.

Beneath this bed lies another, similar to that on the east of Jerusalem, a soft chalky soil containing a portion of alumina; in fact, approaching to a marl. The beds are much thicker, ranging from ten to fifteen feet, and in places beds of equal thickness of a flint conglomerate of dark colour are found, inter-stratified. The dip of this formation varies, but apparently the beds are not conformable with the upper limestone. A good view of the out-crop of a still lower bed is obtained at the head of Wady Farah, an important valley running to the Jordan on the east of Nablous. The chalk here is suddenly replaced by a secondary limestone, the beds contorted with a dip which probably in places exceeds 45°, and stratified in thinner beds of dark colour. The strike can be traced for many miles in a southern direction along the plain east of Nablous;

and a deep water-worn ravine on N.E. of the town has left on its west side a strip of the limestone, which fringes the softer and rounder outline of the chalk hill.

This third formation is a dolomitic or crystalline limestone, marked by narrow torrent beds, with natural caverns. The outline is sharper than that of the nummulitic limestone, which appears, however, to be the main feature in the landscape on the south.

The appearance of the country is what would be naturally expected from such formations. Round stony hills, hemmed in and divided by innumerable valleys, mostly narrow and nearly all dry; down these the winter torrents which first formed them flow to the plains, but in summer the water supply is limited to a few streams and to wells. The horizontal beds give a tame outline to the hills, and their only beauty consists in their colour towards evening or in early morning, when reds, bright browns, and yellows, with bluish and purplish shadows in the deep folds of the hills, give, with the distant dim mountains on the east, a striking though barren scene. Where soil exists not consisting of grey shingle from the rock, it is of a rich reddish colour, and it affords, as Captain Burton remarks, a valuable indication in searching for ruins, as the existence of this virgin soil is a distinct negative proof.

Between the ledges at this time of year (a time most unfavourable to the beauty of the scenery, as flowers and green leaves have long ago been parched, and only burnt grass remains) grow every species of thorny shrub, and plants delighting in dry barren sites. One low dark-brown thorny plant makes itself specially conspicuous, covering the hill-sides in moss-like patches on every side, contrasting forcibly with the yellow-burnt grass and the grey stone. Rock roses (*cisti*), lemon-scented thyme, and thistles also abound; and, like the remainder of the shrubs and plants, are dull grey and brown in colour. The summits are generally flat and covered with stones, often quite bare, and rarely possessing any trees. Lower, patches of maize, of cucumbers, and other vegetables, near the villages, and occasionally tobacco fields, give a greener hue to the hill-side, but in the general view these are lost, and the effect is brown, yellow, and grey.

Descending into the valleys the soil is even stonier, but in Wady Farah there is a stream of fresh water, and beside it dark bushes of juniper and clusters of large oleanders in blossom mark its course like a black broad line in the middle of the valley.

Where the chalk appears, the outlines are softer; and broad white patches and bands run over the mountains. The water has here worn down the hills, and plains of alluvial soil, such as that east of Nablous, result from the softer formation.

Near the villages and up the hillsides the olives give an appearance of greater fertility, though in colour they are grey and dry. Many are of great age, and split into several pieces, which flourish independently. The crop, with the small amount of cultivation it obtains, is biennial. The whole of the groves, to sunset or even after, resound with the extra-

ordinary creaking of the cicala, which sounds sometimes like mule bells, at others as if the whole ground was simmering in the heat.

In the midst of this barren and half-cultivated country the immediate neighbourhood of Nablous presents a marked contrast. Numerous springs and streams run from the weather-beaten scarps of Gerizim and the olive slopes of Ebal, towards the sea. The grey town, with its square houses, its underground streets, its solitary palm-tree, occupies the high valley between the two, and creeps up the side of the former. Around are fig gardens, olive groves, and cultivated plots of herbs, all presenting, as seen in the distance, a green and fertile extent of orchard. Good fruits of every kind, melon, prickly pear, plums, and grapes, abound, and a good harvest is now threshed by the primitive method, used, no doubt, in the time of the Patriarchs.

Such then, are the physical features of the country of Samaria. Of its *fauna* and *flora* but little can at this period of the year be learnt. The flowers are burnt and dead, whilst birds and beasts are alike few and uninteresting. Round the wells, the large herds of black long-eared goats are mixed with small sheep, also long-eared, and out of condition owing to the heat. Over the hills long strings of yellow or white camels, each led by a dark man, in his black kefiyeh, riding a diminutive donkey, are constantly met swinging along. Higher up a pair of gazelles may occasionally be seen bounding over the stones, and once we came across a family of wild pigs. Reptiles, however, enjoy the country and the weather, huge grey lizards scamper about with head and tail well lifted from the ground. Small ones, more resembling earthworms in appearance, also abound, and an occasional large-sized snake is to be met with on the hills.

Song birds seem entirely absent, and of the smaller birds only sparrows and a dark-coloured stonechat appear. In the clefts of the rocks little brown owls are perched, and over the deep wadys the Egyptian vulture is seen circling. Black crows, black kites, and other birds of prey are common; a black-headed jay is also often seen in the olive gardens. A flight of bee-eaters came over our camp this evening, and in the morning we saw a little woodpecker on the hills; these, however, are the only species as yet noticed, and as it is near moulting time it is not a favourable period for collection.

The insects alone remain to be noticed, and of these there is a marked absence of coleoptera, only two or three small beetles having been obtained. On the hills, and sometimes lower down, there are many butterflies, the large yellow swallowtail (*P. podalirius*), and both kinds of the small copper, are the most common; but a bright orange one, and another dark blue or black also, are found. Grasshoppers, the mantis, great yellow spiders, and scorpions, three or four inches long, and light-brown coloured, complete the list. It is remarkable that no *green* insects seem to exist here, but all seem suited to the colour of the country. In southern Italy, where vegetation is fresher and greener, lizards, grasshoppers, and beetles are all often bright green in colour.

Such is the summer aspect of Palestine, at least as far as the hill-country is concerned. Dry and parched, it presents, no doubt, at the present day an appearance very different from that which, with the hills covered with shrubs, with copses, and even with trees; the valleys, watered by fresh streams, bordered with grass and with foliage, it offered to the eyes of the Israelites, to whom, fresh from the barren deserts of Sinai and the rocks of Moab, it must have seemed to be indeed, at least by comparison, a land flowing with milk and honey.

VI.

Rock Indications at Jerusalem.

Camp Jeba, 18*th August*, 1872.

Having recently had occasion to visit Jerusalem for a week, to arrange stores, &c., Mr. Drake and I have occupied our time in explorations of various parts of the city and neighbourhood, and have been rewarded by the discovery of several points of interest, some of which have not, I imagine, been as yet brought before the public.

Our first object was the examination of the Haram, principally with regard to the tracing of rock on the platform itself, and the examination of the chambers on the south and west of the platform. The general result was an impression that much still remains to be done in the sacred precincts, which will throw light on the disputed topography of the interior.

Mr. Schick had just commenced the examination of Captain Warren's Tank No. 24, which lies under a square house used for storing tiles in. Here Captain Warren only remarks that the rock is at a depth of nine feet from the surface, sloping west at an angle of thirty degrees. Descending into it, we found that the rock, though irregular, and rising towards the east, forms the floor of the great part of the chamber. On the north side is a scarp, cut very distinctly, running to the east wall of the chamber, about one foot from the north wall, the interval being filled with dust and the rock foot not visible. (See Sketch 1 from the O. S.) The east wall also consists to a considerable height of a finely worked scarp of rock, which I suppose deceived Captain Warren, who took it for masonry; no joint, however, exists between it and the rough rock at its foot. The chamber is vaulted, with steps at its south side, and above these the same scarp is again visible. How far it extends southward there is no saying, but we have here indications of a corner of some kind, a sudden descent from a level about two or three feet below the platform to one of some ten feet. On the rough rocks there are marks as though of the remains of steps, or of masonry, fitted against the wall. The interest of this discovery is very great, and no doubt it will form a new point in future theories on the temple.

The sketch which I send will show the position with reference to the mosque, which is to the south-east of the spot. The line of scarp continued appears to cut the top of the steps from the gate above Wilson's arch. The north scarp is on the lower level, and finishes the rough rock; its junction with the eastern scarp is hidden by plaster on the wall. The higher, or eastern scarp, has a set back of about six inches, about two feet from the top of the rough rock. The neighbouring deep cistern should be examined, to see if it contains any indication of a continuation of this scarp.

The distance, taking the middle of the Sakhrah as a centre, is nearly equal from the south wall of the platform, and from this scarp on the north. This again may be an indication of the platform not having originally extended so far on the north as it now does.

Entering the mosque itself (an impressive and most interesting interior, with its glorious windows and brilliant mosaics) we walked round and round the sacred rock, and made on the architecture of the mosque many valuable notes, which have, however, no place in this report.

A more minute survey of the Sakhrah than has yet been made is much to be desired, and could it be accomplished a good deal would come of it. The outline only is given in the Ordnance Survey, and the plan and section of M. Du Vogüé are not exhaustive of its details.

On the exterior of the stone I remarked several interesting indications, but what they tend to show is not yet clear. First, the western face, which is the highest, is an artificial scarp, and careful investigation shows that it has a broad step running nearly all the way along, and indications of a second. A gutter, also, or channel, descends the rock at its north-eastern extremity. On the west are indications as of stepping, to receive courses of masonry, intended perhaps to equalise its height, which is much lower on this side, sloping regularly to the floor.

The shaft so adventurously investigated by my predecessor, has now been closed with cement. The cave itself we entered and examined, but not too attentively; the mats on the floor were not removed. There appears to be a difference of sound in the floor on the two sides of the flight of steps by which the cave is entered, as though a hollow passage led beneath; Mr. Drake noticed this, and a similar sound at the northern end of the cave, on a previous visit.

The dome of St. George Mr. Schick has entered, and found nothing of great interest. We visited all the houses but one on the south side of the platform; they run under it a little way, but are not apparently rock-cut. On the west side the houses are built against the platform, and show no indications of rock, but an inner chamber in one, south of the great steps, had a very hard cement, and may possibly be worth examining by breaking through its eastern wall.

The steps, and the garden to the north of them, must also on the earliest opportunity be examined.

The substructures under El Aksa, and at the south-east corner of the Haram, the Golden Gate, and the northern scarp, though interesting to see, gave no new indications, and the only observation made further,

was on the apparent antiquity of the east gate of the platform. The fifth step, some 30 inches from the level of the interior, appears, though it is not a certainty, to be cut in the rock, an important indication of level. Old drafted stones appear in the side piers, the old columns built into the central piers have their bases below the present level, and finally, the line of the gateway seems almost, though it is difficult to judge, to differ from the line of the wall on this side.

Under the Dome of Spirits, at the north-west corner of the platform, Mr. Schick thought the rock was visible, but this I think extremely doubtful.

Next in interest to our Haram notes comes the investigation of the scarp on Zion, which was conducted on three separate occasions. Though already surveyed by Capt. Wilson,* I have thought it worth while to go over it again, as of the greatest possible interest in the tracing of the old first wall on this side.

Commencing on the west, outside the Bishop's church, we found a rubble wall in hard cement, over which was a thin stratum of fine old shingle and broken pottery, beneath the more modern mound of *débris;* and in front of this the top of a stone, with apparently the remains of a vertical draft, was noticed, and a little farther off another was discovered, the line being a production almost of the present west wall of the city from the Jaffa Gate.

The wall of the Bishop's school stands, as does the whole of the dining-room, on the great buttress next in order. The steps are distinctly visible, and the scarp itself on three sides. We are informed that there is a sudden drop or second scarp. The scarp is continuous from the buttress, but not visible in the parts where it is not shown, but the foot of it is never seen, as it is covered by a pavement. The line of cisterns runs apparently behind the scarp, but they must all be examined thoroughly to see whether they are rock-cut or not, for the steps appear to be so, and it is therefore probable that those near it are entirely or partially so.

The four steps are possibly more modern work, as also the cutting back of the top of the scarp, which here appears, and is of irregular height.

Here again, in a room occupied by a shoemaker, the other scarp or side of this rock-cut rampart was found when the house was built; the northern pier of the room rests on rock at a level of 15ft. below the floor, but the top of the scarp is nearly on the same level with this floor. From these two indications we may conclude that the rock has been artificially lowered on the inside, forming a kind of covered way inside the wall, and that on the outside a precipitous scarp formed the foundation of what was no doubt the city wall on Zion.

Passing the second buttress, which has a step or return on the west side, at a height of about 5ft. we come to the remains of a cistern of some size, and coated with hard cement. Its position is

* See Ordnance Survey map of Jerusalem, $\frac{1}{2500}$ plan, and "Notes," p. 61.

puzzling if, as would seem most probable, its base was rock-cut, in which case the scarp must run here farther south, forming a step. The rock here projects slightly, and the scarp, which is here from 15ft. to 20ft. in height, runs on, forming the north wall of the English cemetery, and here another flight of thirty rock-cut steps appears.

These steps* have been already examined by Captain Wilson, who excavated to a total depth from the top of the scarp, of some 35ft., but without striking the rock at the base. The excavation still remains, but is blocked with fallen stone at the end. Just to the east the scarp again projects and is lost under the rubbish outside the east wall of the cemetery. It is, however, to be remarked that here, as on the western side, the compact shingle mixed with pottery underlies the modern *débris*, and probably, as in the former case, overlies the masonry or rock.

Continuing our exploration eastward from the last point, we come on what appears to be a continuation of the scarp, or a sally-port with a rock scarp on either side. The indications here are, however, by no means so clear, as the rubbish has filled up the space between the two scarps, and as some of the details seemed to point to its being merely one of the innumerable rock-cut tombs round the city. On the outer or southern scarp, a broken cistern, another, small but complete. The remains of an oil press, and indications of what may have been steps, are visible. In the northern or inner scarp, which is also the highest, there are indications of a buttress similar to those before described, but a water channel cut in it at first disposed us to imagine this scarp to belong to a tomb. The rock is here traced in a north-east direction, going towards the Mosque of David, and three cave entrances lead to rock-cut irregular caverns, having apparently no connection with each other, and though thoroughly examined, showing no indications of value or interest.

Such is a rough sketch of the rock rampart of Zion, to the importance of which too much attention cannot be given. Its existence at a part of the town where nearly all agree the ancient city wall must have been placed, and the facility of examining it thoroughly, as being placed outside the modern town, in an uncultivated part, render it most desirable that trenches or mines should here be undertaken, to explore it more perfectly and follow up the valuable clue thus obtained.

The first requisite will be a proper survey of the part at present visible, which occupies a total length of some 300 yards, observing the lie of the rock in the cisterns, the distance apart of the buttresses (probably an important point), and the level of the top of the scarp. It will then be necessary, where possible, to find the depth below the present surface to which this huge effort of human labour is carried down; and, finally, the discovery must be followed up on both sides—northwards to the city wall on the west, and eastward or northward, as the case may be, from the eastern extremity of the double scarp.

The method best adapted for following the scarp on the west, is the

* See Ordnance Survey Notes, p. 61.

driving of a mine from the side of the hill beneath the modern *débris*, at right angles to the presumed direction of the scarp or wall; whilst on the east the rubbish must be cleared out, and if necessary a shaft sunk between the two scarps, in search of indications of an entrance of some kind. Another shaft must subsequently be undertaken still farther east, in search of the continuation of the rock or of the foundations of the wall. The indications of its precise position are not as yet as clear as in the former cases. The thirty steps should be farther followed, and the total number of mines here required would probably be four, to be undertaken in succession, and none of them likely to be of very great extent.

To hazard a theory on the probable meaning of this interesting work is perhaps premature, but it suggests itself most forcibly to the mind that here we see the south-west corner of the first wall of Josephus, and very possibly the remains of one of the gates. Now, at the south-west corner, we are told, was the place called Bethso and the gate of the Essenes; and if, as Dr. Chaplin has suggested, Bethso and Beit-sur are the same, the meaning of the latter word as being the "place of the hard rock" may very well connect "the place called Bethso" with the scarp as now existing. In which case we might possibly discover the gate of the Essenes in the position where indications have been observed of a gate.

Eastward from the Zion scarp our explorations did not bring anything of importance to light. The rock on the brow of the hill appears constantly, so that, except round the Mosque of David, the *débris* cannot be of very great depth in this part, and the chance of finding foundations is therefore considerably reduced. It is, however, most striking to observe the immense labour devoted by the inhabitants at some period when the now uninhabited slopes of Zion were covered with buildings, either suburban or within the wall, to insure a water supply during the dry months of the year. Cisterns connected by small pipes or aqueducts, running in a chain one below another, and so arranged that it was not till the one immediately above was full that the second could receive any supply, are found in every direction. Many are now being destroyed by the Arabs in the process of quarrying stone, as it is of course more easily obtained by breaking in the thin surface of rock than by attacking a solid mass. Several large caves, some of unexplored extent, and rough rock-hewn tombs similar to those in the so-called Valley of Hinnom on the opposite slope, are also found, but do not seem to promise any indications, and the question of the exact course of the ancient wall is rendered still more difficult by the present lie of the surface (following no doubt to a certain extent that of the rock beneath), and apparently at variance with most preconceived theories on the subject.

On the opposite tongue of Ophel the same features reappear. Here an aqueduct of larger proportions than those on Zion has been broken up: part still remains intact leading to a cistern, in the roof of which is a shaft. This ought to be explored on the earliest opportunity. It is at a very much higher level than that explored by Captain Warren from the

Pool of the Virgin, and runs along the eastern slope above the Kedron valley. Dr. Chaplin and I also examined several rock-hewn tombs, but here, as on the western hill, no great indications exist.

The village of Siloam and its rock-cut tombs, which owing to the turbulence of the inhabitants is almost unvisited, next attracted our attention, and we ascended by the precipitous and slippery scarp which has been so cleverly identified by M. Ganneau with the stone Zoheleth of Scripture. The name "Zehweileh," and the interpretation, "a slippery place," we found to be undoubtedly in use and understood by the inhabitants, who were carefully questioned, with the same result in every instance.

In the village itself the inhabitants live partly in large caves and quarries, in which also their animals are stabled, a troglodyte propensity which appears very usual throughout Palestine, and is the more curious amongst a people to whom the labour required for excavation of such abodes is unknown, and whose buildings even are of the rudest description. All the houses in Siloam are modern, but the rock-hewn quarries and tombs are no doubt of great antiquity; on many of them, however, there are Christian crosses rudely cut both within and on the exterior; but in no case either here or farther north was there any indication of the loculus placed endways in the tomb, supposed to be characteristic of Jewish sepulchres.

Siloam may possibly prove a fertile source of inscriptions. Here M. Ganneau discovered on the rock the one containing the name "Beth Baal," and in the main street a rough stone with the appearance of Phœnician characters. Here also we were shown, built into a wall, one with square Greek characters of rough execution. This Mr. Drake copied, and a sketch is now forwarded. It appears to belong to a mortuary tablet, and is partly defaced. Farther north we again hit upon an inscription of most puzzling character, which merits to be more particularly described.

Immediately north of the village the steep rocky side of the Kedron curves back, and the valley between this point and the tombs of St. James and Absalom is broader, and on the eastern side less precipitous. A glance at the Ordnance Survey map will explain this better than words can do.

Here, then, a flat plateau of rock separating the lower precipice from the upper by some thirty or forty feet, leads to a rock-hewn tomb which stands above it in a kind of buttress, and contains on either side of the entrance a sort of rough window pierced through the rock.

Immediately east of this the rock is scarped back to a still greater distance, and at places on the present level, partly covered with rubbish, it is coated with a hard cement and painted.

On a ledge running approximately north and south, we discovered the pattern of which I send a coloured sketch, and in its immediate vicinity, the inscription, defaced partly by age and partly by the growth of lichen. It consists of small characters in white paint or

enamel, very hard, slightly raised from a ground of grey-blue cement. The characters are placed one beneath another in ten vertical lines, and are unintelligible, and almost impossible to trace. Of the date and character of this building, apparently lying east and west, and partly rock-hewn, it is probably almost impossible to give any idea.

Immediately below the rock plateau is a curious detached rock-cut tomb, consisting of one chamber with a recess in each of its four walls. Its exterior mouldings are almost Egyptian in character, and in front of its door is a small tunnel or rough stone vault lined with hard cement, and now filled with rubbish. The end is not visible, and being so near to the other cement-lined ruin, it would be interesting to clear it out.*

The number of rock-hewn tombs here situated is large, and their character curious. The cross is found on several, and in none does the Jewish loculus exist. Some have recesses as though for urns or osteophagi, but few are sufficiently large for a body to be placed in them. They are all entered through small square entrances just large enough to crawl through, but afford room to stand up in comfortably. Some marks in the walls seem to indicate that lamps were hung or placed in niches. Two of the larger have stone-cut loculi in their sides, as shown in the sketches, with marks of a groove where the lid was placed.

The latter of these is better cut than most, and has a pointed roof. Some few have an inner chamber, but most have but one. In one of the sarcophagi a place for the head appears—not the ordinary roller for the neck, but a hollow sunk to receive the nape of the neck and the back of the skull.

Sunset put an end to our explorations, which might, however, be renewed with advantage, as the date and history of these tombs is a point apparently difficult to decide. They seem, however, very probably to have been at some time or other inhabited by Christian hermits.

These expeditions round Jerusalem might be continued for a long time, and probably would always bring to light new points which had before escaped notice. The southern part of Siloam, the slopes of Hinnom, and Aceldama, together with the extent of ground north of the city, all require minute investigation, and much is still to be recovered in the city itself. Some half-dozen inscriptions are still uncopied, and a most valuable addition to our information will be given soon by Mr. Schick, who is better acquainted than any one else with the depth of the rock at various points throughout the city. Three relics—a head, a bas-relief apparently from a sarcophagus, with Greek characters, and a Roman inscription—are built into the wall of the Prussian consulate, and are, I believe, still unpublished in England. Even above ground, in the heart of the town, there is still much work for a patient explorer to do.

On the north side time did not permit of much reconnoitring, but the indications observed were interesting. The discovery by Captain Warren of a wall running north of the Haram enclosure, and the existence of the

* A plan and section of this are given in the Ordnance Survey Notes, plate 24, and p. 64.

rock-cut trench which may very possibly be anterior to Saladin's fortification of Jerusalem, would seem to point to a solution of the question of the course of the second wall east of the Damascus Gate. Explorations, and if necessary excavations, near this latter would be most interesting, and I fully believe productive of results.

That the gate itself is near an ancient entrance has been already proved, and to the east of it, therefore, if practicable, the wall ought to be sought and found.

There is, in conclusion, but one point of immediate interest to notice, and this is the Kalaat el Jalud, a rough irregular mass of rubble, set in hard mortar or cement, situate in a waste corner close to the modern city wall. Captain Wilson's investigations and trenches failed there to bring to light anything of interest, and the style of masonry has continued a puzzle to the present day. It is evident that dressed stone of some kind originally faced the rubble; and similar work was discovered in a wall near the Jaffa road, outside the present city wall, by Mr. Drake, who ascribes both to the Crusading period.

A window has lately been broken through the wall, and looking through we perceived drafted masonry of moderately large size.* Descending first into a chamber, some 5ft. or 6ft. below the present level, we explored it, but found it to consist only of a mixture of rubble work, and drafted stones of small size, with a rustic boss; the roof vaulted and cemented, and the entrance a pointed arch. In the second chamber, which has the same vaulted roof, the walls are of similar masonry, but without rubble. The entrance has an older arch, inside which the more modern arch is built. At the opposite end of the chamber is a second arch, dimly visible; it consists of five stones, with a marginal draft, and the boss in the centre dressed. The draft follows the form of the stone, and the keystone is cut out beneath to give a point to the arch. Three or four courses of stone dressed, and with the draft as in the arch, form a wall running approximately north and south; above this is rubble work, as on the outside of the Kalaat.

But the most curious feature of this building consists of the two great piers of drafted stones, with a rustic boss. The length of one of these is some 7ft. 6in., and the sixth course appears to go through the vault of the roof of the chamber, whilst another course is just visible, the greater part being hidden beneath the floor. The appearance of these buttresses or towers is that of the entrance to a gateway; it is doubtful whether they have any connection with the arch, but at any rate they are much older than the rubble work of the Kalaat el Jalud, which has surrounded them.

The more we see of the drafted, or, as it is falsely termed, "bevelled" masonry, the more we become confused, and the greater the difficulty of fixing a date to any specimen. The draft was originally supposed to

* These chambers were opened by Capt. Wilson in 1865, and a description of them is given at page 73 of Notes to the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, with plan and section, plate 27.

be an exclusive mark of Jewish work, but its frequent use by the Romans, its appearance in the wall at Passagardæ, and subsequently its use by the early Christian, and even in several instances by the Saracenic, builders, in Jerusalem and other places, have proved the fallacy of such a theory. Besides the huge smooth-faced Herodian ashlar of the Haram, Captain Warren distinguishes two kinds of masonry, the drafted ashlar with a rustic boss, and the drafted ashlar with a smooth-dressed face. Work similar to the former was used by the Romans, and (in smaller proportions) the smooth-dressed drafted ashlar by Romans, Christians, and Saracens. Thus it is impossible from the draft alone to tell the date of any kind of this masonry.

Far more characteristic of Jewish work is the enormous length of the stones, as compared to their height, which is exactly reversed in Roman work, where the height of the stone is sometimes greater than its length. The latter is the case in the rustic drafted stones of the Kalaat el Jalud, and as the rustic boss was not used by Saracenic architects, it seems most probable that these two buttresses, which seem to stand *in situ*, are Roman work at Jerusalem.

Of what exact date they may be it is more difficult to decide, for the largest of the stones are small compared with the drafted ashlar of the base of the Tower of David, and these again are dwarfed by the Haram walls; and still further it must be remembered that between the Roman work of Herod and that of Justinian, comes the period, so little studied, of the Emperor Hadrian. Surely of the two great market-places, the theatre, the mint, the tricameron, the tetranymphon, the anabathmi or dodecapylon, with which he ornamented the city, some traces must still exist, and must not be confused with the earlier work of the Jerusalem of the Christian era.

It would appear, then, that the Kalaat el Jalud, though dating itself at some period not earlier than the eleventh century,* contains the remains of a building of Roman work, and possibly of two dates; whether, however, this structure belongs to the Ælia of Hadrian, or to some earlier work of Agrippa, or even, though this is scarcely probable, to Herodian date, cannot at present be decided.

Such are the results of a week's reconnaissance in Jerusalem; and, such as they are, they give some encouragement in the pursuit of archæological remnants, which, when compared carefully with former discoveries, may lead to results of some importance in the settlement of the vexed questions of the ancient topography of the city.

* The Kalaat el Jalud is generally supposed to be the Tancred's Tower of the Crusaders, which, according to William of Tyre, was at the north-west angle of the city.

MR. TYRWHITT DRAKE'S REPORTS.*

I.

Camp El Jib, *March 20th*, 1870.

On the 4th and 5th inst. we moved our camp from Beit Nuba, where we had stayed for nearly five weeks, to the site of the ancient Gibeon. The present village is situated on the northern and smaller top of the double hill which, shaped like a figure 8, lies in a kind of basin north of Nebi Samwil. This basin is a tract of fertile ground, producing pears, grapes, figs, almonds, &c., in addition to the usual ground crops and olives, formed by an eccentric watershed, which, beginning at the head of Wady Selaian, in the first instance flows due east, then turning southwards round Bir Nabala, passes Lifta and 'Ain Karim, and eventually reaches the Mediterranean near Yabneh. The heads of this wady to the north of El Jib are called Wady Askar and Wady Hammúd, which latter comes down from the north-east of Bayt Unia, divided by a low watershed from an upper valley, a rise in the bed of which forms a barrage. Above this a pool covering some six to eight acres to a depth of 2ft. is formed during the winter. It is termed El Balúa, "the sink."

Nebi Samwil lies a short distance to the south, on the culminating point of a high ridge running east and west, and is separated from El Jib by Wady el Kibliyeh. The view from this place, which is usually identified with Mizpeh, is extensive. It includes Mount Gerizim and the promontory of Carmel to to the north; Jaffa, Ramleh, and a wide stretch of the maritime plain to the west; Jebel Furaydis (the so-called Frank mountain), the far distant mountains of Jebál, the town of Kerak, Jebel Shihán (the highest point in Moab), are seen to the south and south-east; the continuation of the Trans-ordanic plateau, with slightly undulating outline, stretches to the east and north-east. This reputed tomb of Samuel has naturally formed an important trigonometrical station, and is one of the few points known to me whence Jaffa and Jerusalem are both visible.

Beautiful scenery can hardly with truth be said to exist in this country, but some of the prettiest views in Palestine proper are to be seen by looking westwards from the edge of the central range. At one's feet are deep rugged valleys more or less clad with brushwood, and olive groves strongly contrasting with the white lines of upheaved limestone which gleam like the skeleton ribs of a dead cultivation. Beyond, softened by distance, lies the great maritime plain, here a vivid green, denoting a tract of young wheat, there a fallow of rich red soil bordered by a sombre mass of olive-trees, rendered still blacker by the shadow of a passing cloud, while a gleam of sunshine shows off the white houses of Lydd and Ramleh and the fine tower of the "White Mosque" against the setting of gloomy trees. Far beyond these a thread of golden sand divides the emerald of the plain from the turquoise of the sea. A rounded mass of white, in shape like an exaggerated molehill, glistens at the

* The following letter ought to have been printed in the last *Quarterly*, but was delayed in the post.

north end of the sand dunes. This we recognise as Jaffa; beyond lies the sea, flecked here and there with a tiny white speck, the sail of some coasting trader. Nearer beneath us, in the "*Shephelah*" and lower slopes of the main range, nestle countless villages, few of whose names have yet blackened any map, for the land of the two tribes of Beni Hárith (the northern and the southern) is as yet a *terra incognita*, where the map-maker has not even ventured upon the normal wady resembling rather the veins in a laurel leaf than an intricate system of valleys draining an abrupt mountain slope. This district, lying north of Beit 'Ur el Foka (Upper Beth Horon) and extending nearly to Náblus, is cautiously marked "not examined." It seems thickly populated, and plentifully strewn with olive groves. The *sinowbar* (stone pine) is also found here.

A fine day at this time of year shows the country in its best cloak. A little later in the season every blade of grass will be withered up; the shrubs on the hills will be blackened and parched; the plain will be covered with an impenetrable veil of white mist known to the African traveller by the appropriate name of "smokes." Above head the sky will be that pitiless glare of changeless blue, never to be relieved by a single speck of cloud till the welcome rains of autumn begin to cool the scorched soil and burning rocks. These fine days of early spring are rare, however, and we must often look for cold pelting rains, mists, hail, and even snow—though the latter very rarely, and only on the central range. While I am writing these lines hail is falling, and dense fogs, accompanied by sharp showers, at intervals are hurried up by the violent equinoctial gale from the south-west, which threatens every moment to tear the frail cotton shelter from over my head and hurl it into the neighbouring valley. Stout guy ropes and piles of stones on the tent-pegs have as yet succeeded in baffling Æolus, though for three nights and days we have been obliged to be on the alert every instant to save our tents from wrack and ruin. Only a few days ago the weather was like a fine June day in England.

Such are the changes of temperature to be found in this country from Petra to Damascus. Just two years ago I was snowed up near the former place at an elevation of 4,500 feet, and three weeks later in Moab, being only 1,500 feet lower, I sighed for a lump of snow to put in my tea, the thermometer standing at 105° Fahr. in the shade. At Damascus (2,340 feet, in the Salahíyeh suburb) snow is rare, though sleet is not uncommon in winter. In summer the thermometer ranges up to 100° Fahr. in the shade, and there is at times a difference of as much as 30° between the dry and wet bulbs.

Exposed to these extremes, the fellahín suffer a good deal from rheumatism, coughs, and bronchitis. The men wear a sheepskin coat as a wrap on warm as well as on cold days, but the women make no change in their dress, which usually consists of nothing but a long blue chemise tied in round the waist, a bonnet of red cloth decorated with an edging or roll of silver coins bordering the forehead and extending to the ears, reminding one of the crescent-shaped female head-dress worn by some of the Egyptian priestesses; over this a veil or shawl of coarse white cotton is thrown and hangs down to the waist: it serves to cover the mouth, while the bosom is left exposed, eastern and western ideas of

decorum differing on some points. In certain districts, however, such as the eastern Anti-Libanus and Jebel ed-Druze Hauran, where the villages are not unfrequently snowed up for forty or fifty consecutive days in mid-winter, all the inhabitants must perforce use sheepskin coats, which are also worn by many Bedawin tribes. In the towns the richer classes have many imported luxuries, such as broadcloth coats lined with Russian fox or ermine. Many men, both Jews and Moslems, continue to wear these furs all the year round, both here and in Turkey.

It is well known that the population of this country must, even as late as the sixth and seventh century, have been very large. I was hardly prepared, however, for the number of ruins which I have come across. Many persons would doubtless smile in pity were I to show them a hill-top now occupied by a rude wall enclosing a few fig-trees and a rock-hewn cistern or well, and say, "Here is the site of a considerable town." Most of the ruins are at the present day invisible to the unpractised eye, but may be traced by the wells, tanks, and caves hewn in the rock—the latter still inhabited by a race of Troglodytes half agricultural, half pastoral—by fig-trees and an olive grove, or a few patriarchal trees split by ages into two or three distinct trunks,* grey and gnarled relics of former prosperity. The eye will detect carefully-squared stones in the loosely-piled walls of the garden or sheep-fold, and inquiry will teach the traveller that everywhere beneath the soil, where vegetation assumes a deeper green, covering perhaps two or three acres, squared stones will be found thickly strewn. In another place a few heaps of stones, the universal wells, and a few foundations may be traced above ground. Unimportant as these ruins now seem, chance will occasionally throw a gleam of light on one, and analogy leads to a true value being put on others.

I had heard the name of Deir el Rohbán (Monastery of Monks) applied to some ruins said to exist between Latrún (which, by the way, is always called *Ratlún* by the natives) and Shaykh Músá Tell'ía, a saint-house—of which more anon—conspicuously perched on an isolated block of hill which forms an outwork of the *Shephelah*, and whose west edge is occupied by Tell el Jezar. On riding up to the ruin I could at first see only a few heaps of stone in the form of hollow squares, outlining the ancient houses, but nothing to denote a site of any importance. Presently I came upon a long sunken building, some 60 × 15 ft.; at one end of it I found a small door and part of the circular vaulting (with keystone) which formerly covered it all in. The masonry was good and the stones well hewn: the quarry from which they were cut is visible about a quarter of a mile to the south-east. A neatherd from Amwas, in the territory of which village this ruin is situated, told me that the rest of the vault had been demolished by the people of Ramleh for the sake of the ready-hewn stones, as they found it much easier to carry them that distance than to quarry them nearer at hand. This deportation of stones has spoilt many a ruin. The site of Khalasah in the Negeb, for instance, is left almost stoneless

* I frequently observe that the bark gradually encircles these split trunks, which at last assume the appearance of two or three trees growing from one root. Thus the olive indulges in a second childhood.

by the pilfering of the Gaza folk. The shaykh of this village tells me that his father and others built their houses entirely of the stones which they brought from the ruins of El 'Amayzíyeh, some two miles distant. In fact, wherever a ruin is handy, the fellahín prefer digging up the well-cut seasoned stones to the toil of cutting them afresh.

Turning from this vault I crossed a small ploughed field and suddenly found myself on the brink of a circular, well-shaped cistern of careful construction. It still measures 31ft. in depth, though the bottom is a good deal choked up with earth and the plaster which has fallen from the sides. The diameter across the present top is 25ft., but the opening must formerly have been much smaller. The diameter at bottom I should estimate at some forty feet. It is lined with stones, of which the faces are nearly uniform in size, with a broad draft and small rustic boss; sectionally the stones are alternately long and short, are backed by a bed of rubble and cement, and this again by rough masonry of undressed stone. One conduit, about 3ft. × 2ft., and two smaller channels, lead into this reservoir, which in places retains a lining of cobble-stones covered with plaster. Hence it would appear that the stones were drafted not for ornament but for use.

Had it not been for this cistern and vault, there would have been no proof, without excavation, that this ruin was ever more than a village such as the fellahín now inhabit, and there is no legend or name to make us believe that it was other than an ordinary townlet of the period. These two works, however, clearly prove the existence of a large civilised and industrious population, of whom no other trace remains except a few fragments of glazed pottery, a ware now unknown in the country, and rarely found in ruins. The same fact is also proved by similar works scattered among other ruins, by the grape and olive presses, by store or dwelling caves, by wells, cisterns, graves, and quarries, all hewn out of the solid rock, and which are everywhere abundant, but especially in the *Shephelah*.

When we come to consider the labour that must have been expended on a single cistern 20 ft. to 30 ft. deep, shaped like a church bell or inverted funnel, the opening being nearly 2½ ft. diameter, and the bottom 15 ft. to 25 ft., and cut out of the solid limestone, we can realise the industry of the people who have left countless examples of these works to be neglected and uncared for by the ignorant savages who now inhabit the land. It is no uncommon thing to find groups of 3 to 10, or even more, of these fine excavations. Some are near modern villages, in which case the lazy fellahín will every few years clean out the accumulation of filth and mud which has been swept into them by the surface drainage, for the passage of which I have seen channels cut through masses and heaps of garbage and manure thrown on the outskirts of the village, revolting alike to eye and nose. Others are found scattered over the country, and I have frequently observed isolated examples on hill tops, where they would be supplied by no more than half an acre to an acre of surface drainage.

As I have before mentioned, modern Troglodytes inhabit the old caves in common with their cows, sheep, and goats. The entrance is usually a smooth-dressed passage cut in the rock, about 3½ ft. to 4 ft. wide, open above, and descending either by an inclined plane, or shallow steps, to the doorway of the

cave, which is 4 ft. by 2½ ft. The walls of the cave itself are seldom smoothed; in shape it is circular or oval, and rarely 6 ft. in height. The centre is occupied by the cattle, while the portion reserved by the human part of the community is marked off by a line of stones, and sometimes assumes the form of a *mastabah*, or slightly raised narrow daïs. The manure is carried out every morning and deposited in a heap just so near as not entirely to block up the gangway. The state of the cave after a heavy down-pour of rain, which contributes some six inches of water to the general Augean uncleanness, the slimy damp of the walls, the mosquitoes, the vermin, the reek of men and beasts, makes an ordinary English pig-stye a palace by comparison. And yet the indolent, able-bodied rascals, dignified by the title of reasonable beings, who own this byre are too lazy to build themselves huts, but prefer using the caves bequeathed them by the Hebrews and heathen of old, and lounge over the hills with their herds, or, rolled in their *abbas*, snooze in some sheltered nook without a thought or an aspiration beyond cramming their stomachs with crude wild herbs, or gathering a few piastres by hook or by crook, but, most important, with the least possible exertion to themselves. These men are often too indolent to turn an honest shilling by acting as guide for two or three hours, but will make their miserable women and children tramp ten, fifteen, or more miles in the day, to and from market to sell a bundle of dry stalks, called by courtesy firewood, a skin of milk, or a few eggs, worth in all sixpence or eightpence. The cave-dwellers I must, however, allow are sunk but little lower than their house-sheltered brethren. Their wants are few, and their means of supplying them equally scanty.

The goods and chattels of a modern Horite may easily be catalogued, say, some twenty or thirty sheep and goats, and four or five head of cattle, a half-starved dog, a couple of wives, and half-a-dozen children, a pair of donkeys, and a rusty gun, a few skins to hold milk, an earthen jar or two, a quern, (perhaps) a couple of tazzas of common pottery, rarely of tinned copper, to drink *leben* (soured milk) out of, a primitive plough and ox-goad, the woodwork being of home manufacture, and the iron share and spike, the handiwork of itinerant *Nawwar* (gipsies)*, and these with a few bits of hair-cloth, which serve as wraps, bedding, or sacks for grain as occasion requires, complete the list. Wild herbs, especially mallows, *Khubbayzeh* (a general food for the poor in N. Africa, Syria, and Palestine), millet bread, and various preparations of milk form his chief diet, which is varied only by flesh when the rusty flint, or match-lock, succeeds in knocking over a partridge, or gazelle, crow, or hyæna, or when the throat of some sickly goat must be cut "to save its life." Beef is almost unknown in Palestine, and not at all appreciated, as none but diseased beasts, or those past work are slaughtered. A man once said to me, by way of showing that hyæna's flesh was fair, though not first-class food, "it's very like beef." In the villages, poultry, eggs, and pigeons were common, though

* These people, who are found all over the civilised, or semi-civilised world, from S. America, to Siberia, still retain their original (one of the East Indian) dialect, and always follow the same trades; tinkering, dancing, weaving, baskets or chairs, horse-dealing, and chicken stealing, palmistry, and general knavery.

the former are rarely eaten; olives, *dibs* (grape-treacle), barley, or sometimes wheaten bread, are added to the above list.

I made mention of a saint-house—the tomb of Shaykh Mùsà Tellía—a few lines back, and will now give some details about these sacred spots. In European books and maps they are usually termed "Welys," confounding the entombed with the tomb, the saint with the saint-house. They are of two kinds: 1. The actual tomb in, or more properly—for the Moslem religion objects to burial in a place of religion—adjacent to a small domed building which serves as a mosque, and which invariably has a *Mihrab* (prayer niche) turned towards Mecca. 2. *A Makham*, which I cannot translate better than chapel, either with or without a cenotaph. This is a dedicatory building to a prophet or saint, erected, more or less rudely,* either in fulfilment of a vow, in obedience to a dream, or prompted by ostentatious piety.

Either class of building is considered equally holy, ploughs and other agricultural implements deposited in them are perfectly safe. In Moab I noticed that the graveyards on the open plains were heaped with ploughs which no raider or pilferer ever dared to remove. An oath upon a saint's tomb, especially if like Sidna Ishak (the patriarch Isaac) at Hebron, he be famous for a violent temper, is generally to be depended upon. I heard, however, of an instance at Kharaybeh in the Anti-Libanus, where a man perjured himself at a shaykh's tomb about some money matters. Soon afterwards one of his cows died, and he was so impressed with the belief that this misfortune was due to his falsehood, that he incontinently went and confessed to his debtor, and apologised to the saint (shaykh) whom he had insulted. In Morocco the natives believe that to shoot a bird which has taken refuge with a sidi (saint) is to incur the certainty of fever or other illness, and the probability of death. Many instances were quoted to me in proof of this belief. I usually considered the illness brought forward as due to malaria.

A tree growing, as one usually does, over a shaykh's tomb is like the Fijian "taboo." It is never cut, and if a bough breaks off in the course of nature, it is not carried away for fuel, but carefully laid up near the tomb. In the same way any fragments of the building or tomb which decay and fall are not

* That of Nebi Barok (Prophet Baruch) on the Anti-Libanus is merely a rude oval pen of stones without a roof, and ornamented with a few dedicatory camel sticks and switches. Shaykh Abu Zeitun, on the contrary, near Beit 'Ur el Foka, has a mosque, with chambers for pilgrims, well built and strewn with matting. The tomb of his mother (Umm el Shaykh, Bint Ahmad el Dujáni) on the same hill, is a larger building, but not so well kept up as her son's, to which *wakf* or glebe land is attached. It is not known who Shaykh Abu Zeitun was, nor what was his name in life. He is called the Father of the Olive, from the fact that long ago a man dreamt that he saw a light burning on the hill, and that a man of majestic appearance intimated his wish to have a mosque built there in his honour. Urged by this the dreamer went to the spot, saw a curious light, and to his great surprise found a fine olive-tree growing where none had been the day before. He was so impressed that he forthwith built a mosque in honour of Abu Zeitun, who enjoys at the present day a very high reputation through all the country side.

thrown away, but scrupulously preserved, generally in some out of the way niche or corner.

It is easy to trace in the reverence paid to these tombs, and the sacrifices of sheep, &c., offered at them, unsanctioned by the strict laws of Islam, traces of the old worship of demi-gods, heroes, and local powers, still retained in the Romish and Greek churches under the guise of adoration to saints, martyrs, *et hoc pecus omne*, traceable, too, through the belief of the peasants of Europe in fairies, elves, trolls, and gnomes. The custom of hanging rags, &c., on certain trees, may also be a lingering of one of the earliest material worships, that of trees.

One point to which I am specially directing my attention is the lie of the old Roman and other high roads. These are in many cases easily traceable and will eventually prove of great topographical value in elucidating sites noticed in old itineraries. I have already been able to trace several, which I shall treat of at greater length on a future occasion.

JERUSALEM, *March 2nd*, 1872.

Having finished our work in the neighbourhood of El Jib, we moved up here on the 23rd. Directly after Easter I intend to move down to Jaffa and survey that neighbourhood, which has not yet been done, as the expedition commenced operations at Ramleh. I hope to get this bit of work done before the Khammasín winds (siroccos) set in in May. The summer months I intend to pass on the main range, as the highest and coolest district to be found.

II.

P. E. F. CAMP, NABLUS, *July*, 1872.

Taking occasion of the non-commissioned officers having fifteen to twenty days' indoor work, for which the Rev. Mr. Elkevy, Protestant clergyman here, kindly lent a room in his house, on the 21st ult., I started for Damascus, to take a few days' change of air after an attack of fever, and also to make arrangements for baggage mules better than those under the existing contract, the term of which is nearly expired.

I took the most direct route, viz., by Nazareth, Tiberias, and Kunayterah, accomplishing the whole distance in three and a half days (34 hours). This route has been so often described that I shall merely notice the great difference that has taken place in the country within the last few years, and which is chiefly owing to the suppression of Bedawi *ghazzawat* (raids). Less than eight years ago the Plain of Esdraelon (*Marj Ibn 'Amr*) was the favourite summer camping ground of various trans-Jordanic tribes, notably the Ruwalla, one of the great clans of the 'Anazeh tribe, as well as others of less importance. These sons of the desert not only prevented the cultivation to any great extent of this wide and fertile plain, but also exacted black mail from the unfortunate peasants, whose cattle and crops were, notwithstanding this,

frequently lifted or destroyed. On my first visit to the plain, in 1870, not more than one-sixth or one-fifth was under cultivation, and the same was the case in the following year. In both these seasons, however, there had been a sad deficiency of rain. On this last visit I was somewhat surprised to find nearly the whole plain covered with splendid crops, which I estimated to be distributed in the following proportions:—

Corn and barley	45·0
Millet	35·0
Simsim (sesame), Cotton, Castor-oil	10·0
Fallow land	10·0
	100·0

The Nazareth people, owing to the abundant rainfall, were induced to sow a very large tract, and the result has been a most splendid harvest. Considerable difficulty is found in conveying such a quantity of grain and straw to the village, as it has to be carried on camels, mules, and donkeys, some four or five miles, half of which is over an execrable mountain path. This inconvenient arrangement is necessitated by the fact that all the crops must be thrashed on the village threshing-floor in order that the *'ashr* or tithe may be there taken from all at once.

Instead of the countless black "houses of hair," as the Arabs term their tents, which used to swarm here, I saw but two ragged specimens, so torn and tattered as scarcely to afford even shelter from the sun, and inhabited by two miserable families, whose sole possessions were a few goats. Certainly the glory of the Bedawi is departed, and were it not for the increased exactions of Government the condition of the fellahín would be much improved.

At Tiberias I made inquires about the colony of Jew fellahín living at Bakín, some three or four hours distant from Safat. The account I had previously received at that place was confirmed. They consist of ten to twelve families, whose occupations and manner of life differ in nothing from that of their fellow-villagers, and they intermarry with the Jews of Safat and Tiberias. I am not aware that these men have ever been visited and described by any traveller, and it would be interesting to observe them following the pursuits of their ancestors in the land which once was theirs.

At the Jisr Benat Yakúb I found the Jordan a quick, brawling stream, some twenty-five yards wide, but in bulk scarcely one-quarter of what it is at its final exit into the Dead Sea. This is easily accounted for when we take into consideration the size and importance of its lower tributaries, the springs around the shore of Tiberias lake, the Nahr Yarmuk, which, flowing down Wady Mandhur, falls into the Jordan a little north of the Jisr el Mejamia, bringing down the whole

drainage of Jayd'úr, the Jaulan, and the Hauran (Ituræa, Gaulonitis, and Auranitis), together forming a stream but little inferior in size to the Jordan itself as it issues from the Sea of Galilee. The streams, too, from Wady el Arab, Wady Jalúd, and the numerous springs above Beisan (Scythopolis), all add to the main stream, though during part of the year nearly all their water is absorbed by irrigation.

Leaving the Jisr Benat Yakúb, some twenty minutes brought me to the summit of the Jaulan plateau, which consists of red soil thickly strewn with basaltic boulders. Small springs are numerous, and in their vicinity are considerable tracts of *dawah*, or millet, belonging to the Turcomans, who number some 600 tents in this district. At 2.20 I began to enter a woodland, sadly spoilt by the ravages of charcoal-burners, who destroy with fire many more trees than they are able to cut up with their primitive hatchets. The trees consist of evergreen oak (*Q. pseudococcifera*), *butm* (terebinth), and *z'a'arûr* (hawthorn). I then passed Tell el Khanzir, a volcanic mound with a crater opening northwards. Tell Abu Nedda (the Father of Dew), lying west of Kunayterah, seems formed entirely of mud; the plain surrounding it consists of yellowish volcanic clay overlaid by a thin stratum of hardened grey mud, which resolves itself into almost impalpable dust in the roads. I noticed that all the craters of these tells open in a northerly direction, as is the case with the Tulul el Safáh to the east of Damascus.

At Kunayterah I found an encampment of the Fádil Arabs between the spring and the ruins, and betook myself to the tent of the shaykh. After a little while some of the Arabs managed to pick a quarrel with a Kurdish *zabtiyeh* (irregular horseman) who was with me, and nearly got up a row, but a little forcible language soon brought them to their senses, and two of the shaykhs came and kissed my hands with abject humility.

These Arabs have large herds of cattle, but very few goats or sheep; they own several mares, which, however, are not worthy of much notice.

The night was cold and the dew heavy. Next morning when I started, shortly before sunrise, dense clouds hung on the tells and Hermon, but were soon dissipated by the warmth; but for the first hour I felt that a great-coat would have been a luxury. From Kunayterah to Sa'sa a paved road is traceable, and in places is in almost perfect preservation. It is usually said to be Roman, but the extreme crookedness of the line militates against this idea. In places *détours* are necessary to avoid a morass, but this route is exceedingly, and, to all appearance, unnecessarily, devious in crossing the basalt field west of Sa'sa. At this village, situated on the 'Awaj, which Mr. Porter dogmatically informs us was the ancient Pharpar, is a large khan, which the same authority tells us was built by Sennan Pasha, who greatly distinguished himself in this line of architecture; but the stone over the principal gate has never been inscribed, and I was unable to find any date on the building. The khan

is very large—some 200 yards square—and is built of twenty courses of limestone upon three of basalt, the stones in all cases being drafted.

As I was leaving this place an Arab from Dor el Baydha, in Morocco, joined me, having just been stripped on the road I had come over. The robbers were two men, probably Druzes, who only left the poor fellow his cap, slippers, and a bit of cotton rag, taking from him his cloak and shirt and thirty-seven piasters, his sole possessions. This man had been to Mecca and Jerusalem, and was now on his way to Kerbela, near Baghdad, to visit the tombs of Hasan and Husayn, before returning to his own country.

Leaving Damascus on July 13th, I rode to Sunamayn. This name, "the two idols," is taken by Mr. Porter as being derived from two high and conspicuous towers, but unfortunately for the theory there are five towers, of almost equal height and prominence. The name, as was first suggested to me by my friend the Rev. W. Wright, of Damascus, is probably derived from a block of basalt lying near the city gate, on which two figures are sculptured in bas-relief, and though much battered and defaced are still quite recognisable.

The square towers in this part of the Hauran have all the appearance of being Saracenic work. They "batter" considerably, and are usually ornamented with two or three ornamental cornices at intervals, generally on a level with the floors of the different stories. These cornices, however, are not unfrequently made up of odds and ends, which shows that, whatever the date of their present construction, they are made up of the *débris* of other buildings. In one tower the window of the upper story is placed nearly half its breadth askew, and in another, at Taffas, near Mezayrib, a rude pointed arch is introduced, which further confirms their modern origin. In various parts of the town I noticed pieces of ornamentation, well executed but more florid—as, for example, a sort of honeysuckle pattern over a window—than what I had been accustomed to in the eastern Hauran.

On the road between Sunamayn and Damascus large caravans of the huge well-fed Hauran camel were constantly met with, bringing corn and barley to the capital. The return animals were usually unladen; some carried a box of apples or apricots, or a few wooden pitchforks, or other equally rude agricultural implements. These caravans number from twenty to sixty camels, and are accompanied by a man to every two or three beasts. A few flint-locks and rusty pistols are still necessary to ensure their safety, for though the great raids are now rare, small forays are of everyday occurrence in the Hauran. Only the day before I reached Sunamayn, a small party of Arabs ('Orban el Jebel) from the Druze mountain had ridden up to the village and carried off a camel and a horse. The next day, too, at 'Ain K'taybeh, I found an Arab with a sword-cut on his arm which he had received during the night from a band of plunderers whom he met on the road.

Soon after my arrival at Sunamayn, a party of Damascenes who had lent money to the villagers arrived to look after their interests. The

dress and appearance of these amateur travellers in the "Chól" amused me sufficiently. Silk robes and patent-leather boots, silver narghílés and worsted-work slippers, green-lined umbrellas and a folding iron chair-bedstead were the order of the day. Stretching their weary enervated limbs on hastily improvised divans, they managed to regain sufficient strength to attack with success the huge dish of *burghul* (crushed wheat) and mutton which the shaykh brought in for our dinner about 8 p.m.

On July 14th I left Sunamayn at 4.30 a.m. As the route from this place to Umm Keis (Gadara) seems but little known, I give my route and time, which, I must premise, is at the rate of about four miles an hour, as far as Mezayrib; thence to Umm Keis and Beisan little more than three, owing to my baggage-mule having suddenly become lame, and my being compelled to take any kedísh (pack-horse) that I could find at the different villages.

I hope our American cousins will not feel aggrieved at my having ridden through a corner of the country east of the Jordan, of which they will "be monarchs so soon as they begin to survey." I am, however, quite ready to put forward various claims, both direct and indirect, arising from the fact of their having delayed their expedition so long that, as yet, no cairns have been erected east of the Jordan to enable us to connect the two surveys.

		H. M.	
Sunamayn to	Ignayyeh* (L.).....	50	Small village.
,,	'Ain Ktaybeh (L.)	50	Tell and ruins; small birket, from which a spring flows.
,,	B'gayya (R.)	25	? Bukayya. A spring rises here which passes on to the next, and by a canal to Dilleh, whence it seems to be carried off in a south-west direction, not as stated by Murray (p. 504, vol. ii. ed. 1868) to the south-east. A broad marsh extends to the east, full of flags and rushes.
,,	Second ruin of same name (R.)	10	
,,	Dilleh (R.)	25	
,,	Shaykh Meskín (R.)	1·35	Village.
,,	Taffas (R.)	2·15	Village. D'aïl (vil.) about half mile to L. at 1.10.
,,	Mezayrib	45	
	Total	7·15	

This road is over a monotonous plateau beside the telegraph posts—the wires in many places being absent, owing to a prejudice conceived against them by the Arabs, which they show by cutting them—sup-

* These places are spelt in Vandevelde, Kuneiyeh, Kuteibeh, Dilly, Eshmiskin, Tufs, and Mezarib.

posed to connect the garrison at Mezayrib with the authorities at Damascus. In places a fragment of paved road appears, but seldom elsewhere than across some piece of ground which in winter would become a swamp.

At Mezayrib the Kalaa or Fort—the residence of the Mutasserif of the Hauran—a Saracenic building, is separated from the cavalry barracks, which though not yet completed are already falling to ruin, by a small stream. After supplying a mill, this water runs into a lakelet in the centre of which the village is built on a small tell of basaltic boulders. It is connected with the mainland by a rough narrow causeway, and in the old days must have been unassailable by Bedawi *ghazzawat*. Fish of considerable size are said to exist, but the fellahín are too ignorant and lazy to take them either by net or line.

During the summer months a cavalry camp of three or four troops is pitched here and serves to keep the Sirhan Arabs, the Benú Sakhr, and the Wulid 'Ali in some sort of check. I noticed some handsome mares here belonging to the two former tribes. Indeed they are considered to have the best mares in the desert, which is accounted for by their frequent proximity to Nejd. The fellahín told me that some ten years ago these Arabs used to exact blackmail from them regularly, and not content with this would come into the houses and carry off food, clothing, and household utensils, but that since the establishment of troops in the Hauran these objectionable practices have been put a stop to.

A sort of huckster's market is now established during the summer months at Mezayrib, in which all kinds of odds and ends and trumpery are sold to the Bedawin, often in exchange for *semn* (clarified butter).

The climate of this place is unhealthy and feverish and the water tepid. The far-famed fleas, too, of the Hauran keep up all their *prestige*, and effectually banish sleep from all but pachydermatous fellahín.

July 15.—	H. M.	
Mezayrib to valley	45	Here the limestone again appears on the surface ; flints in wady bed.
,, Wells in Wady Shelláleh	2. 0	Immense herds of she-camels belonging to the Benú Sakhr watering here.
,, Maghaïr	1.15	
,, 'Arbid*	45	Ancient Arbela.
,, Kufr Jyyiz	1.30	Small village to right. Excavated tombs, quarries, and wine-presses scattered about.
,, Síma	15	Small village on road. Wells ten minutes further.
,, Hátib	1.20	Small village half mile east of road.
	7.50	

Putting my scanty baggage on a camel, as the mule was scarcely

* Spelt by Vandevelde, Irbid.

capable of walking, I rode on ahead. Just above the wells in Wady Shelláleh is a ruined bridge or aqueduct (? from B'gayya) across the valley, built of large drafted stones. A little higher up the wady are several excavated caverns, in one of which I observed (pigeon ?) holes similar to those which have so much puzzled travellers at Beit Jibrin and Deir Dibwan in Palestine. On my arrival at 'Arbid the kaimakam sent to ask me to rest with him, which I did. After breakfast the mejlis (tribunal) assembled and began to discuss affairs.

Imagine a room some 20ft. by 15ft., with mud walls and floor, and smoke-stained roof of beams and brushwood, supporting a layer of earth. At the end a divan occupied by the kaimakam and self; on two sides the native shaykhs, &c., seated on rush mats and smoking long chibouks; the other end, lighted by a window and door, through both of which zabtíyehs (horsemen), fellahín, and others, were continually coming and going.

The kaimakam was a civil little Turk, dressed in a cotton *kumbaz*, which would have been improved by soap and water, over which to receive me he had put a fur cloak, which the heat, however, soon compelled him to discard. His Arabic was scanty, and spoken with a broad Turkish accent. The members of the mejlis were of the usual type, one could read, none could write. Soon afterwards the mutassebji (tax-collector), a dapper, self-satisfied little Damascene Christian, speaking fair French, came in.

First case.—Enter a man and speaks to the kaimakam thus: "Oh, Bey, I wish for the release of Mohammed, now in prison."

Kaimakam, to zabtíyeh: "Bring him in."

Member of mejlis to prisoner: "What are you here for?"

Prisoner: "For shooting a man whom I did not shoot."

K., to friend: "What is the man here for?"

Friend: "For shooting a man in the ghor. The man's brother brought him here, but he's a Belga Arab, and is gone home, so I want you to let Mohammed go."

Member of mejlis (in dogmatic parenthesis): "As we have imprisoned him so we have power to release him."

Kaimakam: "But if we let him go and the other man wants to prosecute him, will he come?"

Friend: "Oh, yes, to be sure he will."

Exeunt friend and prisoner in triumph.

Secondly comes on a complaint from some of the villagers (Greek Christians) of El Hasm, that the Mohammedans prevent their drawing water from the only well in the place. Pandemonium in the mejlis. Six or seven men scream and gesticulate at one another for five minutes. During a momentary lull a voice is heard to observe quietly that this is like a quarrel between two Haríms. A dead silence for a few moments and then the matter is discussed more quietly, and the Moslems are ordered to let the Christians have their share of the water after ten days. The Moslem shaykh goes out spluttering uncouth oaths.

Then begins a discussion wilder and stormier than the first, till one of the chief disputants sinks back exhausted. A voice then suggests the fact—"There is no deity but God, and all men were made by Him; the rain is His gift: therefore let all men partake equally of it." A murmur follows of "Wallah! that's true! That's just!" and orders are given that the Christians are to take what water they require.

While a pack-horse was being procured I took a glance at the large circular basaltic mound which formed the old fortress. It is about three hundred yards in diameter, with a depression in the centre containing several ruins built of old materials. On the outside a wall of large unhewn stones is in places visible.

Balked in my intention of proceeding the same evening to Umm Keis, by the continued sliding of my baggage from the back of the Rosinante told off to carry it, I was compelled to stop for the night at Hatib. Just before reaching that place I was joined by some sixty irregular horsemen from Jerusalem who had been riding the Jebel 'Ajlún to collect the *willi* or tax imposed on the tent-dwelling Arabs.

July 16.—	H. M.	
Hátib to Belka	1.15	Lost thirty minutes here by mistake in road.
,, Sáfin.....	1.15	(? Safineh, the Ark.) A ruined Roman station on a tell to the left of the road, which in many places shows traces of pavement, and in others is cut through the rocks, and still shows marks of wheels.
,, Umm Keis	20	
	2.50	

The greater part of this route lay through a woodland of *ballut*, butm, hawthorn, *kharrub*, and large-leaved lime-trees. The road, as is almost universally the case with those engineered by the Romans, runs alongs a ridge, thus avoiding all unnecessary gradients.

The hundreds of basalt sarcophagi scattered about Umm Keis are of the regular *North* Syrian type, ornamented with bosses and floral scrolls on the sides, and covered by a ridge-topped lid having greater spherical knobs at the corners. Mr. Porter (Murray's Guide, vol. ii. p. 302) states that this basalt must have been brought from some distance. He is seemingly unaware that the town stands partially on an outcrop of basalt, which falls away in steep cliffs to the ghor due west of the town, and distant a little more than a mile. For a further account of the ruins I may refer to his description, which is, with this exception, correct.

Leaving the ruins I intended to go to the *Hammeh*, or hot-springs, and a zabtíyeh, who had been sent to escort me from 'Arbid, professed to have come that way only three days previously. Having no map with me I wildly put my trust in him, more particularly as we began

on the road which I had ascertained from the fellahín to lead to the springs. At the end of forty minutes, however, I found that to reach them we should have to go back to the ruins, and as this would have entailed sleeping in the ghor without food or forage, as we could not have reached Beisan that night, I was reluctantly obliged to give up visiting them.

Meeting a *natúr*, or watchman for the crops, I asked him to show me the way to Beisan, which could be seen from the edge of the cliff 100 yards distant. The man expressed unwillingness and ignorance. One of the soldiers then gave him a push on the shoulder with his open hand, and told him to go on. At this the man began to trot along the path, and wringing his hands to cry, "Dakhl Allah, dakhl Allah," &c. (I seek protection of God). Warming to his work he got into a regular howl, and then flinging his pipe and stick away on one side, slipped off his abba (cloak), then his blue shirt, and lastly his white one, then standing in a state of nature he wrung his hands and howled more wildly than ever. Finding that we were all laughing, he suddenly ceased and turned towards us with a most sheepish look. I blandly asked him if he was insane. He replied in the most natural voice, "No, I'm only a poor devil," and trotted off to pick up his property, doubtless feeling that he had been very much ill-used.

My route is as follows :—

	H. M.	
Umm Keis to edge of cliffs	40	With a *détour*.
,, edge of ghor	1. 5	Steep descent; bad track.
,, stream at Wady el 'Arab	45	Water-melons grown here; water tepid, with slight taste of sulphureted hydrogen.
,, Ford of Jordan.....	50	
,, Beisan	2.10	
	5.30	

The ford over the Jordan is nearly north-east of Beisan. At the best place the water was only 1½ft. deep, but I rode up the bed of the river for about 100 yards without the water coming up to my saddle-flaps.

At Beisan the Kadi asked me to stop with him, and I found him a gentlemanly Turk, who bitterly bewailed his banishment to such an out-of-the-way place. Talking of the Bedawi Ghaza, and the idea so born with the son of the desert that "stolen goods are sweet," he told an *ápropos* story of a rich Kurd who stopped at his house in Anatolia. Another man happened to be there with a load of honey. In the early night he heard the Kurd continually getting up and lying down again. Watching what he was about he saw him go to the load of honey, take three dips with his finger, and then come back to his mattress and sleep like a child. On being remonstrated with the next morning he said he could not rest till he had filched a bit.

During the recital of this story I saw Husayn, shaykh of the Ghazáwi Arabs, licking his lips in sympathy. His tribe have for some time been constrained to give up forays, and now peaceably cultivate the soil of the ghor. Their appearance, like most of the inhabitants of the ghor and Belka, is more like that of fellahín than Bedawín, as they wear long heavy moustaches and beards: the hair on the true desert Arab's face being generally scanty. Good living has probably much to do with this.

At Beisan I found a broken inscription. It is on limestone, and lies near the Serai.

July 17.—		H.M.	
Baysan to Mazár Abn Faraj		1.10	A tree and tomb, with a few underground huts and matamoras tenanted by melon growers.
,,	Rahub	1. 0	A small village and spring at the foot of the hills.
,,	Roman milestones in Wady Khashíneh	30	
,,	Tyyásir	1. 0	Small village to left.
,,	Túbás	1.10	Large village; water from wells only.
,,	Burj Bardáwil	50	Copious springs and mill.
,,	'Ain Fár'a	15	Spring; head of Wady Fár'a.
,,	Náblus	2.45	
		8.40	

Along Wady Khashíneh I found traces of a paved Roman road as far as Túbás. Here I found wild olive-trees for the first time in Palestine. For two or three miles the hill sides are thickly clothed with them, and such trees and shrubs as *retem* (white broom), hawthorn, wild almond (*el asaf*), caper, *kharrub* (locust-tree), and *sarris* (a common evergreen bush bearing a red berry). Hence some execrable paths led me to the tents at Náblus.

III.

P. E. F. Camp, Jeba, *Aug.* 22, 1872.

Having finished the necessary observations from the trigonometrical stations within reach of Náblus on the 6th August, we—that is to say, Lieutenant Conder and myself—went up for a short visit to Jerusalem, leaving the non-commissioned officers to fill in detail.

Our visit there has strengthened my belief that there is still a great deal to be done, and this without any very large outlay. It will be seen from Lieutenant Conder's report that many points which will probably turn out of great value have not hitherto received the amount of attention warranted by their importance. I have great hopes that a few comparatively small excavations which he has planned will, when carried out, be productive of final results.

Up to this time there had been no occasion for any digging in the

country, except for the purpose of opening one or two tombs; which, as I have before mentioned, were unproductive. A few days ago we were told of wonderful remains at a place called Duwaymeh, lying at the eastern base of Mount Gerizim. An inspection of the place showed us two syenite pillars, fifteen feet six inches long, and about two feet in diameter, slightly bulging in the centre, and terminated by a plain fillet and astragal. A third column was taken from this place by Mohammed Saïd, the late pasha, and is now lying near the unfinished barracks between Náblus and Baláta. There is also a broken column at the former place. Here we determined to dig, and sent to the neighbouring village of Kefr Kallín for five men, who came and dug without a murmur, and never even asked what they were to be paid. A trench running north and south, at right angles to the two fallen pillars above mentioned, brought us, at the depth of about two feet, to a tesselated pavement of good colours but poor execution, and set in friable cement. The patterns were heart-shaped leaves, twists, and other commonplaces. The cubes are half-inch and consist of white, pale yellow, red, pink, and blue-black limestones. We found other cubes (three-quarter inch) scattered about, but none *in situ*. Pottery was not abundant: only a few fragments of coarse red, and a bit or two with a bad glaze, were turned up. I observed no glass except the mouth of a rude bottle, and one square of glass mosaic, part perhaps of some wall decoration. The workmanship of the pavement in no way equalled that of the pillars, hence the presumption that these latter were brought from some older building—perhaps the Gerizim temple—and made use of in building a Roman villa. A fellah who had been employed to dig by Mohammed Saïd Pasha, told me that the mosaic extended over a space some fifty yards square. In one place a small tank (bath or impluvium?) had been found lined with marble. Sister columns to the above-mentioned exist in a broken state in the ruined church at Jacob's well, and a perfect one lies between Joseph's tomb and the hamlet of Askar. Here, too, an extensive mosaic pavement exists.

The walls of this villa seem to have been simply made of rubble. The columns lay nearly due east and west, and this, joined to the fact that the mosaic beneath has been crushed by their fall, leads to the conclusion that they were overthrown by an earthquake.

The old town of Náblus seems to have extended much farther east than it does at present. Some vaults were found when digging the excavations of the before-mentioned barracks, which, though unfinished, are rapidly falling to ruin. Several persons, too, in the town declare that they hold title-deeds of shops and houses in the same locality, but I have not been able to obtain a sight of any of these documents. An oblong mound, with traces of a rude wall on the western side, blocks up the mouth of the valley between Baláta and Askar, and if, as some conjecture, the latter represents the name of the old Sychar, which I cannot but consider as separate from Shechem, this

may have been its position. Still it is one of those points which must always remain uncertain from want of evidence either for or against.

Before leaving Náblus we paid a visit to the Samaritan synagogue, to inspect the famous MSS. Taking off our boots, we entered the synagogue with the old priest Amran, who, without any difficulty, showed us the first MS. This is contained in a brass scroll-case ornamented with a florid arabesque of silver, fastened on in very thin narrow plates. I then asked him to show us the other two rolls—viz., the one said to be written by Abishuah and the next oldest. At this request the old man expressed the utmost surprise, and wished me to believe that this was the real Simon Pure. As, however, on my first visit with Mr. Palmer I had seen two, and on a subsequent visit with Captain Burton three, I was able to assure him that I knew all about them. He then said the key was with his nephew Yakub, who soon appeared, and after a little persuasion showed No. 2, enclosed in a case of workmanship similar to but better than No. 1. On one side of this are depicted the cherubim and altar, the branched candlestick, the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, the flesh-hook, and other sacred utensils.* A legend round the edge gives the date A.H. 860—or A.D. 1456—(the Samaritans have since, soon after the Mohammedan conquest, dated by the year of the Flight)—and the name of the workman, Yakub ben Fawki, of the town of Damascus. Amran told me that an old tradition states it to be the work of a Damascene Jew. The style of work is distinctly Perso-Damascene, and is still employed in the ornamentation of narghiles, trays, dishes, and other brass ware, by a Persian Jew now living at Damascus. These things are often sold to travellers by the *bric-à-brac* dealers as genuine antiques. Having inspected No. 2, I asked to be shown the real MS. Both the priests immediately exclaimed that there were no more, but I again assured them that I had seen it. Yakub looked nervously at his uncle, and asked what was to be done. Amran shrugged his shoulders and said he did not care. Yakub then asked me why, having seen it once, I wanted to see it again. I replied that Lieutenant Conder had never seen it. He then said that he could not bring it out of its chest.† This was just what suited us, as we were able to see the rolls in their places behind the vail (a white quilted counterpane) and assure ourselves that there were no others. *The* roll (No. 3) is kept in a case of solid silver of modern workmanship, and has all the appearance of much greater antiquity than either of the other two. It is treated, too, with the greatest respect. On opening it Yakub kept repeating *Destúr* (permission) and *Bismillah* (in the name of God). The evidently real hesitation about showing this roll at once proclaims it to be the one venerated by these Cuthim. It is kept in a cupboard or upright chest with No. 2, No. 1 being in a separate box outside.

* For photographs of this see the P. E. F. series, Nos. 225—228.

† This can only be done when the high priest is ceremonially clean, and has been that day to the bath.

The roll No. 3 is seldom shown to travellers; in fact, I believe that very few indeed have seen it. But as it is now getting generally known that there are three rolls, I hear that the Samaritans intend getting up a fourth to show instead of No. 3. In course of time they have grown to regard this roll as a fetish, and though they will forswear themselves by the name of God as easily as other orientals, an oath on this is sacred. An anecdote showing the value at which it is held by an intelligent British tourist, was told me on the best authority. A certain Englishwoman, travelling with a firman from the Sultan and at government expense, came to Náblus, and made arrangements to see the rolls by night, as it was the time of the Passover, and the High Priest was engaged on Gerizim during the day. Having seen it, she presented a backshish of one shilling. Such munificence ought to make us proud of our countrywoman.

There is a curious fact connected with the Samaritans. The whole number of the community is 135 or 136, and of these eighty are males and fifty-five females. Considering the long course of intermarriage practised by these people it is very remarkable, and is tending rapidly to destroy the race, as marriage, either for men or women, with other than their own sect, is strictly forbidden.

There is at Jerusalem, in the possession of Mrs. Ducat, a poor German Jewess, a Samaritan MS. called the "Fire-tried," about which a few notes taken from an account written by Dr. Jacob Frederick Kraus may prove interesting.*

It is called the "Fire-tried" by the Samaritans from a note at the end of the Book of Numbers to this effect—"It came out from the fire by the power of the Lord to the hand of the king of Babel, in presence of Zerubbabel the Jew, and was not at all burnt. Thanks be to the Lord for the Law of Moses."

It is in the form of a book—not a roll—written on parchment, and contains 217 leaves. It is incomplete at beginning and end, as it commences at Genesis xi. 11, and ends at the beginning of Moses' blessing in Deuteronomy. The pages are 11 by 9 inches. The text is divided into verses and sentences; words at the end of a line are not broken, but—except in the case of the name of the Lord—the letters are spread out to fill up the required space. The letters are rather larger than those in Abishuah's roll (Samaritan No. 3), and some appear to have been gilt. The decalogue is not, as in later MSS., numbered at margin. The paragraphs are not numbered or described as in more modern ones, which, for instance, say, "This is the first book of Moses, containing 250 paragraphs," &c. Dr. Kraus considers these to be two proofs of great antiquity. He goes on to say that Abishuah's roll has a kind of acrostic in the middle of the lines, made by darkening one or more letters. Read down the roll this makes, "I, Abishuah, son of Phinéas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest—the goodwill of the Lord and his glory be on them—have written this holy book in the door of the

* See photographs Nos. 171—174.

tent of the congregation on Mount Gerizim, in the thirteenth year of the government of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan, with its boundaries round about. I thank the Lord."

The "fire-tried" MS. has no acrostic, but a note at the end of Genesis: "This holy Torah has been established by a wise, valiant, and great daughter" (?) "a good, precious, and intelligent leader, and by a master of all knowledge, from Shelomo son of Saba, a valiant man, a leader of the congregation, and an instructor of his generation, as well by his knowledge as by his intelligence; he was a benefactor and an interpreter of the Torah and a father of blessings; he was of the sons of Nun—may the Lord be gracious to them—and it was appointed to be a thing dedicated to the Lord, that men should read therein with fear and prayer in the house of the High Priest on the tenth day of the seventh month, and this was performed in my presence, and I am Ithamar, son of Aaron, son of Ithamar, the High Priest. May the Lord renew his strength. Amen." Thus far Dr. Kraus.

The MS. was obtained by Mrs. Ducat's late husband in the payment of a bad debt. Owing to the exaggerated price (£1,000) asked for it when brought to England a few years ago it has never been sold. It could now be purchased probably for about £200.

The survey is proceeding most satisfactorily, and in about another month we hope to begin measuring the second base-line on the plain of Esdraelon.

The other day we came across a volcanic outbreak which, as far as I am aware, has never been noticed. It appears beneath and west of Shaykh Iskander, a prominent tomb some nine miles W.N.W. of Jenín. Here I found volcanic clay, nodules of hard black basalt in beds of friable brownish-grey syenite (?). This accounted for the waterworn appearance so often assumed by basaltic boulders, and which had long puzzled me. The character of the superincumbent limestone seemed somewhat changed in places both in colour and texture.

For some distance to the south of this outbreak is a district covered with dense brushwood of *sindian* and *ballut* (*Quercus coccifera and Q. pseudococc*), of the *Arbutus andrachne*—locally *kykab*—mixed with a few trees of *kharrub* or locust. To the north, and extending as far as Carmel, is an arid uninhabited waste, treeless and waterless, rugged and pathless, covering perhaps some sixty or seventy square miles, which will take us a month to survey, and we shall doubtless feel glad when it is finished.

NOTICES OF PALESTINE IN THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY GEORGE SMITH.

THE Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions contain some of the most remarkable illustrations of biblical history and geography. During most of the period of the Jewish monarchs, the Assyrians were in direct com-

munication with Palestine; their armies traversed the country, and they conquered and took tribute from many of the kings so well known to us from the Bible narrative.

The earliest monarch whose inscriptions describe any Syrian conquests is Sargon, king of Agane, who reigned at least as early as the sixteenth century B.C.

Sargon, after making other conquests in Elam and Syria, started from his capital, Agane, which was situated near Sippara (the Sepharvaim of Scripture), and advanced to the Mediterranean Sea, on the shore of which he set up a monument to celebrate his victories. Sargon gives a curious account of his own history; according to which his mother, after his birth, placed him in an ark made of rushes and bitumen, and set it afloat on the River Euphrates. In this story there are several points of resemblance to the history of the infancy of Moses.

For several centuries after the expedition of Sargon, we know of no campaigns in Syria; but in the time of Tiglath Pileser I., *cir.* B.C. 1120, the Assyrian arms were carried across the Euphrates, and as far as Palestine. Tiglath Pileser reigned about the time of Eli, Judge of Israel. He defeated some tribes of Hittites, and captured the city of Carchemish; after which he advanced with his army to the slopes of Lebanon, and embarking in a ship of Arvad, killed a dolphin or porpoise in the Mediterranean Sea. The Assyrian empire at this time extended from near Babylon to the Mediterranean, and appeared likely soon to absorb the whole of Palestine; but the Syrians threw off the yoke of Assyria, and an Aramean monarch defeated the Assyrians about 1050 B.C., and drove them again across the Euphrates.

The defeat of Assyria left room for the growth of the power of the Israelites, under the rule of David and Solomon; and the Assyrian empire did not revive until after the death of Solomon, and the breaking up of his dominion.

The career of Assyrian conquest recommenced with Vul-nirari, who ascended the throne B.C. 912. His son Tiglath Ninip, B.C. 890, conquered Naharain; and the next monarch, Assur-nazir-pal, who began his reign B.C. 884, once more crossed the Euphrates.

About B.C. 870, Assur-nazir-pal marched into Syria; he crossed the Euphrates near the city of Carchemish, and Sagara, king of Carchemish, gave him tribute. Passing numerous kingdoms on his way, he then marched to Lebanon, and crossed the Orontes. Here he built a fortress and established an Assyrian garrison. Then skirting the foot of Lebanon he marched to the sea-coast and received presents from Tyre, Zidon, Gebal, Arvad, and other Phœnician cities. No permanent conquest was effected in this expedition, and Assur-nazir-pal died B.C. 859, and was succeeded by his son, Shalmaneser II., who made vigorous efforts to subdue Syria and Palestine.

After five years of war, having conquered all the intermediate countries, Shalmaneser in B.C. 854 advanced into Hamath, ravaging the country and destroying the towns. His advance was interrupted by

the forces of a league of kings of Syria and Palestine, under the leadership of Ben Hadad of Damascus. The army of the confederates was made up as follows:—

2,400 chariots and 20,000 footmen of Ben Hadad of Damascus; 1,400 chariots and 10,000 footmen of Irhulena of Hamath; 2,000 chariots and 10,000 footmen of Ahab of Israel; 500 footmen of the tribe of Goim; 1,000 Egyptian troops; 10 chariots and 10,000 footmen of Irqanata; 200 footmen of Matinu-bahal of Arvad; 200 footmen of Usanata; 30 chariots and 10,000 footmen of Adonibahal of Sizana; 1,000 camels of Gindibuh the Arabian; 10,000 (?) footmen of Baasha, son of Rechab the Ammonite.

Including the charioteers, the whole number of the confederate forces probably amounted to about 85,000 men.

A battle took place on the banks of the Orontes, in which Shalmaneser claims the victory; but the engagement stopped the Assyrian advance, and Shalmaneser returned to Nineveh.

Four years later, B.C. 850, Shalmaneser again advanced against Ben Hadad and his allies, and another indecisive battle took place. The next year, B.C. 849, the war was continued, and in the battle which followed the confederates were defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. This engagement did not open Palestine to Shalmaneser, any more than the others, and in B.C. 846 the Assyrian monarch made a more determined effort; and, raising the whole strength of Assyria, he crossed the Euphrates at the head of 120,000 men. Again he defeated Ben Hadad, but such was the strength of the league that he gained no advantage from his victory.

After this expedition the Syrian league was dissolved. Ben Hadad died, and was succeeded by Hazael. Other changes also had taken place in Palestine: Moab was independent of Israel; and the family of Ahab had been destroyed by Jehu, who now occupied the throne of Israel.

Shalmaneser now renewed his attack, and in B.C. 842 marched against Hazael, king of Damascus. The Syrian monarch posted his troops in a strong position on the mountains of Saniru (the Shenir of the Bible?) in Lebanon, and here he sustained a decisive defeat at the hands of Shalmaneser, 16,000 of the Syrian troops falling in the battle, while 1,591 chariots were captured by the Assyrians. Hazael fled from the battle-field with the wreck of his army, and shut himself up in his capital, Damascus, where he was followed and closely besieged by the Assyrians.

After wasting the neighbourhood, and cutting down the forests for use in the siege, Shalmaneser, unable to take the city, turned into the Hauran and wasted it with fire and sword. Afterwards he marched to the coast of the Mediterranean, to a place called Bahlirahsi, and set up a stele to commemorate his victories. Jehu, who is called "son of Omri," and the King of Tyre and Zidon, now gave tribute to the conqueror.

Three years later Shalmaneser again invaded Syria, but Hazael did not meet him in the open field. This time the Assyrians besieged and captured four cities of Hazael, and received tribute from the kings of Tyre, Zidon, and Gebal. Damascus, however, was not taken, and no road was yet open into Palestine.

The army of Shalmaneser was afterwards in Syria on the Orontes, but no further attempt was made against Damascus, and Shalmaneser died B.C. 823, and was succeeded by his son Samas-vul. Samas-vul carried on war principally in Naharain and Babylonia, and left his crown in B.C. 810 to his son Vul-nirari.

Vul-nirari III., who reigned twenty-nine years, made several expeditions to Syria and Palestine. In one of these he marched against Mariha, king of Damascus, and the Syrian monarch, overcome by fear, admitted him within the walls of the city, and made his submission to Vul-nirari; he likewise paid on the order of the conqueror 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, and various articles of value. The occupation of Damascus by the Assyrians, for the first time opened Palestine to their inroads, and now Vul-nirari received tribute from the land of Omri (Israel), Philistia, and Edom.

Vul-nirari was succeeded in B.C. 781 by Shalmaneser III., who made two expeditions to Syria, one in B.C. 773, to Damascus, and another in the next year, B.C. 772, to Hadrach. No details of these expeditions have been discovered.

On the death of Shalmaneser, Assur-dan III. succeeded in B.C. 771. This monarch marched to Hadrach in B.C. 765 and 755, and to Arpad in B.C. 754, but the details of these expeditions are not known.

Assur-dan was succeeded by Assur-nirari in B.C. 754. Under this king the Assyrian power declined, and his reign was ended by a revolution in B.C. 745, which placed Tiglath Pileser II. on the throne. Tiglath Pileser soon revived the ancient glory of Assyria; he marched to Arpad in B.C. 743, and entering the city after a conflict with the Syrian forces, he received the submission of several of the kings of that region. The king of Syria at that time was Rezin, who is so often mentioned in the books of Kings and Isaiah. A heavy tribute was imposed on Rezin and upon the kings of Tyre, Hamath, and other cities. The next year the Syrians revolted, and Tiglath Pileser marched to Arpad, which he besieged for three years, B.C. 742 to 740, and on the capture of Arpad he advanced against Hamath. The people of Hamath obtained the assistance of Azariah, king of Judah, who sent a force to help them. This army was routed by Tiglath Pileser, who then overran most of Hamath, and annexed a large portion of it to Assyria. During his stay in Syria, Tiglath Pileser received tribute from Menahem, king of Samaria, and the expedition returned to Assyria in B.C. 738.

The Assyrian annals mention another expedition to Palestine by Tiglath Pileser in B.C. 734. The inscriptions of this period are imperfect, but this war appears to correspond with that mentioned in the second

book of Kings and Isaiah, when King Ahaz, pressed by Rezin and Pekah, sent to Tiglath Pileser to help him. The commencement of the expedition in the Assyrian account has not been found: the fragments of that record begin with the battle between the forces of Rezin, king of Damascus, and Tiglath Pileser. In this engagement the Syrians were routed, and Rezin fled to Damascus. The Assyrian monarch then ravaged Syria, and laid siege to Damascus with part of his force, while with the rest he marched into the land of Israel. Here he captured and spoiled the cities, carrying the people into captivity. From Israel Tiglath Pileser marched to Philistia. He attacked Askelon, but Mitinti, king of Askelon, who had rebelled, died, and his successor, Rukipti, submitted to Tiglath Pileser. The next place attacked was Gaza. Hanun, the king, fled into Egypt, and Gaza was captured and spoiled. Hanun then came and submitted to Tiglath Pileser. The Assyrians afterwards subdued Samsi, queen of Arabia, and various other princes and tribes, and the war was ended with the capture of Damascus in B.C. 732. Among the tributaries at the close of this campaign occurs the name of Yahuhazi (Ahaz) of Judah. One other event in Palestine is recorded in this reign. Tiglath Pileser states that on the death of Pekah, king of Israel, he established his successor Hoshea on the throne.

On the death of Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, B.C. 727, he was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV., who is mentioned in the second book of Kings; but the annals of this monarch have not been discovered, so we have not got the Assyrian version of his relations with Hoshea.

In the year B.C. 722 there was another revolution in Assyria, and Sargon ascended the throne. Samaria having revolted, he, at the beginning of his reign, besieged and captured that city, carrying away captive 27,290 people, and putting an end to the kingdom of Israel. He afterwards, in B.C. 720, crushed a rebellion in Hamath which had spread to Israel and Damascus. In the same year, advancing to the south of Palestine, he subdued the Philistines and Judah, and defeated Sabako of Egypt and Hanun of Gaza at the city of Raphia, where Hanun fell alive into his hand and was carried to Assyria.

Afterwards Sargon, in B.C. 715, received tribute from Pharaoh of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia, and Ithamar the Sabean, and he transported some of the Thamudites and other rebellious Arab tribes into the cities of Samaria.

In B.C. 711 Sargon was again in Palestine. The people of Ashdod had revolted under Azuri, their king, and were subdued by Sargon in one of his earlier campaigns. Sargon placed Ahimiti, a brother of Azuri, on the throne, but the people of Ashdod revolted against him, and raised a man named Yavan to the throne. Yavan sent to Pharaoh of Egypt and other kings in the neighbourhood to make alliance against Assyria. Egypt at this time well merited the denunciations of Isaiah, for Sargon tells us that after encouraging the others

in their revolt, Pharaoh gave them no help when the Assyrians advanced against Palestine.

In B.C. 711 Sargon marched against Philistia and Judea, but Yavan fled into Egypt on the advance of the Assyrians, and Ashdod and Gimzo were captured and his country subdued. Pharaoh now crowned his treachery by delivering Yavan bound into the hands of Sargon.

Sargon died B.C. 705, and was succeeded by Sennacherib, one of his younger sons. Hezekiah, king of Judah, had revolted against Assyria and attacked the Philistine cities. Sennacherib, in B.C. 701, marched against him. On his way he first attacked Lulia of Zidon, who fled to Cyprus. Sennacherib then took in succession the greater and lesser Zidon, Zarephath, Hosah, Achzib, Accho, and other cities, and placed Tubal on the throne of Zidon. Most of the kings of Palestine now submitted. Their names given by Sennacherib are—Menahem of Samaria; Tubahal of Zidon; Abdalihiti of Arvad; Urumelek of Gebal; Metinti of Ashdod; Buduil of Beth-Ammon; Kemosh-natbi of Moab; Airammu of Edom.

From Phœnicia, Sennacherib advanced to Philistia, where Zidqa, king of Askelon, refused to submit. He deposed Zidqa, and carried him and his family into captivity, placing on the throne Sar-ludari, son of Rukibti, the former king. Beth Dagon, Joppa, Bene Berak, and Azor, which would not yield, were stormed and plundered.

Sennacherib next marched against Ekron, the people of which had submitted to Hezekiah, and had delivered their king Padi into his hands. Ekron was taken and spoiled, and Padi later recovered from Jerusalem and again seated on the throne. The kings of Egypt and Ethiopia having sent an army against Sennacherib, he defeated them at Eltekeh, and spoiled Eltekeh and Timnah.

The Assyrian monarch then gives an account of his attack on Hezekiah, king of Judah. He captured forty-six of the fenced cities of Judah, including Lacish, and there is a series of slabs from the wall of one of the halls of his palace, on which is depicted the storming of this city, while Sennacherib is represented sitting on a throne in the vicinity of Lacish, and receiving the prisoners and spoil. Hezekiah he shut up in Jerusalem, and built towers round the city to prevent his escape. Hezekiah then submitted and gave to Sennacherib 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, besides many rich presents. Sennacherib, in the course of this war, despoiled Judah of considerable portions of its territory and gave it to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, Askelon, and Gaza. The Assyrian annals have not yielded any trace of the disaster which overtook Sennacherib's army, and he continued his career of conquest for several years after this campaign. Late in his reign, probably about B.C. 688, he made another expedition to Palestine; but the details of this war are most of them lost by the mutilation of the tablet recording it. Sennacherib, in this expedition, penetrated into Arabia and stormed the city of Edom. He carried

captive the Queen of Arabia and the gods of the country, and returned to Assyria in triumph.

In the year B.C. 681 Sennacherib was murdered by two of his sons, and after a contest for the empire, Esar-haddon, a younger son, ascended the throne B.C. 680. When he had arranged the affairs of Babylon, Esar-haddon marched to Palestine, where Abdi Milkutti, king of Zidon, was in revolt. He captured and destroyed the city of Zidon, and then gathered the kings of Palestine and Cyprus who were subject to him. The rulers of Palestine were—

Bahal, king of Tyre; Manasseh, king of Judah; Kemosh-gabri, king of Edom; Muzuri, king of Moab; Zilli-bel, king of Gaza; Mitinti, king of Askelon; Itusamsu, king of Ekron; Melek-asaph, king of Gebal; Kulubahal, king of Arvad; Abibahal, king of Samaria; Puduil, king of Beth Ammon; Numelek, king of Ashdod.

Esar-haddon afterwards passed through Palestine on several occasions, but there are no details of any interest respecting these expeditions.

Esar-haddon appointed his son Assurbanipal king of Assyria in B.C. 668, and soon after died. Assurbanipal, who was the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, directed his first expedition against Egypt, and on his way received tribute from the kings of Palestine who had formerly submitted to his father.

After his second conquest of Egypt, Assurbanipal besieged Bahal, king of Tyre, who had revolted, and the Tyrians, after a long blockade, submitted. Yakinlu, king of Arvad, then gave tribute, but Assurbanipal afterwards deposed him, and placed his eldest son Azibahal on his throne.

During the troubles of the rebellion of Saul-mugina in Babylon, B.C. 651—648, the Arabs under Vahta invaded Palestine and overran Edom, Ammon, the Hauran, Moab, Zobah, and other places. From most of these they were driven out by the forces of Assurbanipal, and a portion of the Arab army under Ammuladin, king of Kedar, was defeated by Kemosh-halta, king of Moab, who sent Ammuladin in chains to Nineveh. In order to chastise the Arabs for their incursions, Assurbanipal sent an expedition to Arabia and made Damascus the basis of his operations. He afterwards punished the cities of Accho and Hosah on the coast of Palestine for revolting against Assyria. These events, which happened about B.C. 640, are the last referring to Palestine given in the Assyrian annals; but many portions of Assyrian history are still unknown to us, and when renewed excavations have supplied the rest of the Assyrian records, we may hope to have much more information on the geography and history of Palestine.

THE HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Esher, Surrey.

DEAR SIR,—In answer to your request for some brief explanation of the three remarkable inscriptions which appear in your present number,

I have great pleasure in putting before your readers the following few facts.

The whole of the first line is almost exactly what appeared as three short lines in a late number of your journal; the actual characters are almost identically the same. A close inspection, however, shows that your three short lines were never meant to be read as we should naturally read them, viz., all three from left to right, or all three from right to left. To those who are accustomed to these things the fact is evident that two were read one way, and the middle one a different way. What I have done is, in fact, to transpose the direction of the characters in the middle line. I have also considered that about an inch and a half of the stone (on your scale of printing) has been cut away on one side, and a gap of three inches (on the same scale) will therefore have to appear when the three lines are brought into one. The reason for affirming the existence of this gap will be very evident to any one who considers the third line of your present publication. This line is from another stone altogether. By arranging the whole as in the former case, so as to read it all from left to right, a much smaller gap is here found necessary; but a gap is obviously required in each, as the inscriptions are obviously composed of corresponding elements, which must be arranged one under the other.

Whether the third short line of this third inscription is wanting at Hamath, or has been lost on the transit home, I know not. So precious is every sign in these most important documents that I trust the originals will be examined once again by the light of my arrangements, with a view to the most perfect accuracy and fulness attainable in the transcripts.

The middle line now published your Society has, unfortunately, nothing to do with; why or wherefore I cannot say. I take it altogether from Captain Burton,* with emendations when obviously necessary. An accurate squeeze of the king's name would probably go far to decide whether my theory of these inscriptions is correct or not.

This theory is that the third set of symbols after the gap in the first line contains quite plainly the Egyptian title of Thothmes III. This spot will be seen by any one who has carefully realised the whole of the above description, to be exactly in the centre of the original stone before the mutilation.

In the second line, exactly under Thothmes, is another Egyptian character which occurs in a king's title of the same dynasty as Thothmes.

The third line in the same central spot has also Egyptian symbols.

Should these views stand the test of criticism, the stones will be 600 years earlier than the famous Moabite stone of Mesha.

I am, yours faithfully,

Sept. 20, 1872. DUNBAR ISIDORE HEATH.

* "Unexplored Syria." Burton and Drake.